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## FBI Said to Film U.S. Legislators Discussing Bribes

By Charles R. Babcock

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (WP) — An investigation into organized crime has changed direction and now focuses on potential bribery charges, sources say. The FBI is believed to be videotaping transactions which members of Congress and their aides are believed to be involved in, according to sources.

The investigation is described as the most serious in years, with more than \$400,000 in as yet unexplained cash in the hands of some of the legislators. They said the investigation is described as the most serious in years, with more than \$400,000 in as yet unexplained cash in the hands of some of the legislators.

Word Leaks Out  
More than 100 FBI agents were seen yesterday in the corridors of the Capitol building, sources said. The investigation is described as the most serious in years, with more than \$400,000 in as yet unexplained cash in the hands of some of the legislators.

## Moscow Paper Assails Dissident Writer

By Craig R. Whitney

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (NYT) — The authorities today signaled a change in the crackdown on dissidents with a newspaper charging the writer Lev Kopelev with subversive and treasonous activities. The newspaper, "Pravda," said Kopelev was a "traitor to his country and his nation."

The article gave no indication that he would be prosecuted, but he and his wife, Irina, fear that this may lead to their banishment to Gorki. The article is filled with lies, sources said, and it is being done because Kopelev has made a name for himself as a dissident.

Kopelev, whose parents were anti-Soviet, is known abroad as a dissident. He is a member of the "Group 89," a group of dissidents who are known for their anti-Soviet views. The article is filled with lies, sources said, and it is being done because Kopelev has made a name for himself as a dissident.

Mr. D.N.J., chairman of the House Administration Committee; John Murtha, D-Pa.; John J. Pickens, D-S.C.; and Richard Kelly, R-Fla.

The Long Island paper Newsday reported last night that Reps. Michael Myers and Raymond Lederer, both Pennsylvania Democrats, also are subjects of the inquiry. The investigation is described as the most serious in years, with more than \$400,000 in as yet unexplained cash in the hands of some of the legislators.

A videotape shows Rep. Murphy discussing with the undercover agents how to help their "Arab" clients get permanent residency if they entered the United States. The investigation is described as the most serious in years, with more than \$400,000 in as yet unexplained cash in the hands of some of the legislators.

A more central figure was Howard Criden, a Philadelphia lawyer, who was the go-between in transactions involving Reps. Murphy, Thompson, Lederer and Myers.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Sen. Harrison Williams Jr.



Rep. John Murphy



Rep. Frank Thompson Jr.



Rep. Michael Myers

## Killian Seen Optimistic

## Olympic Officials Hope To Defeat Moscow Boycott

By Samuel Abr

DUBLIN, Feb. 3 (IHT) — Officials of the International Olympic Committee believe there is still a strong chance that U.S. athletes will compete in the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer despite President Carter's plan for a boycott unless Soviet troops leave Afghanistan by Feb. 20.

According to a highly placed IOC

source, the committee hopes that Mr. Carter's plan will be undermined by outside pressure and events before the final deadline of May 19 to accept an invitation to the Games.

Part of the IOC's hope is based on the public position of the U.S. Olympic Committee, which will not ask the IOC to boycott the Games but to postpone, cancel or remove them from Moscow. All three options are unacceptable and will be rejected, the source said, when the USOC meets with the IOC Executive Committee in Lake Placid, N.Y., on Friday.

"The IOC is absolutely locked into the contract with the Moscow organizing committee," the source said. "There is no way out of the (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## 1959 Pact Would Be Invoked U.S. Pledges to Send Force If Russia Attacks Pakistan

By Bernard Gwertzman

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Feb. 3 (NYT) — The United States and Pakistan have agreed that U.S. military forces would come to Pakistan's defense in case of a large-scale Soviet or Soviet-inspired attack threatening Pakistan's independence and security, U.S. and Pakistani officials said tonight.

Providing details on two days of extensive talks between the two sides, President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq told a small group of U.S. reporters that the United States had affirmed through Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, that U.S. forces would be committed in case of a major attack on his country.

A member of the U.S. delegation said that in the talks, various scenarios were discussed involving U.S. troops. Gen. Zia was told, he said, that the United States expected Pakistan to be able to withstand by itself a border skirmish with the Russians in Afghanistan. But if the Russians mounted a significant attack, the United States would invoke the 1959 security accord between the two states.

As a result of the private statements given him by Mr. Brzezinski during the talks here, and other remarks by Mr. Carter, Gen. Zia was clearly elated with what he regarded as a major improvement in relations. Only a few weeks ago he said he was questioning U.S. resolve to stand firm against the Soviet Union and to come to Pakistan's assistance. Tonight, sitting on a couch in his home, he said "new life" had been given the 1959 agreement.

"Apart from anything else, this is the greatest boost that the Pakistanis could have," he said, noting that he had now lost his doubts. But even though the two sides seemed in general agreement on overall policy toward the Gulf area, in the wake of the Soviet military move into Afghanistan, they were unable to put together an agreed U.S. aid package for Pakistan and it was decided to defer it for the time being.

The United States had proposed \$400 million in economic and military aid for the 1980 and 1981 fiscal years, and it had been planned for Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher to bring it before Congress in coming days. But because the figure had been

described by Gen. Zia as "peanuts," the Pakistanis have been reluctant to have it acted upon officially until other countries were ready to offer aid, too, thereby increasing the size of the package.

Mr. Brzezinski, at a press conference following the talks, said that submission of the aid request would be delayed pending completion of further military discussions between the two countries and formation of

a wider group of aid donors. Gen. Zia, in his comments, said that Pakistan now was no longer as concerned about the size of the aid (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)



Zbigniew Brzezinski looks into Afghanistan through a machine gun at Khyber Pass post yesterday.

## Tehran Agrees to Waldheim Proposal For World Commission on Shah's Rule

From Agency Dispatches

TEHRAN, Feb. 3 — Iran has agreed to the establishment of an international commission that will consider the alleged crimes of

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the deposed shah. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said today. He added that the commission "will be effective in solving the hostage crisis."

The establishment of the commission, proposed by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, has been approved by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the Revolutionary Council, the spokesman said.

A spokesman for the militants who are holding an estimated 50 hostages at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran said that he was aware of the council's decision but declined immediate comment.

In another development, Kurdish sources in Tehran said today that government forces had recaptured the strategic Kurdish town of Kamyaran after four days of fighting with Kurdish guerrillas who are seeking autonomy for their region.

Held Since Nov. 4  
The U.S. hostages in Tehran have been held since the embassy was seized by militants on Nov. 4. Three other U.S. diplomats, including Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen, have been held under virtual house arrest at the Foreign Ministry.

The militants have said repeatedly that they would not release the hostages until the shah, who is now living in Panama, was extradited to stand trial in Iran on charges of corruption and mass murder.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman did not say when the commission would come to Tehran or when the hearings would begin. Its members will be selected by Mr. Waldheim and will include Iranian and foreign representatives, he said, adding that it would be Mr. Waldheim's decision whether to include U.S. representatives. He refused to confirm or deny reports that Mr. Waldheim soon would visit Iran.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman added: "The international commission will be effective in solving the hostage crisis."

The decision by the government to accept the commission first was announced late last night after a lengthy meeting of the Revolutionary Council. After the session, a spokesman for the council said that "the international investigation commission will consider the shah's crimes, his violation of human rights and the return of his wealth to Iran."

The militants announced yesterday (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## Nigeria and Algeria Increase Oil Prices to \$34.21

By J.P. Smith

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (WP) — Nigeria, the United States' second-leading oil supplier, said yesterday that it was raising its petroleum prices \$4 per barrel tomorrow.

The price increase, together with those announced last month by seven of the 13 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, eventually will add almost 7 cents per gallon to domestic

gasoline prices, industry analysts said. The increases are expected to add

• In an IHT supplement on Nigeria, an article examines the nation's oil revenues. Page 7S.

at least \$7.5 billion to the U.S. outlay for foreign oil this year.

[Reuters reported from Algiers that Algeria today announced it

was raising its oil price tomorrow by \$4.21 per barrel to \$34.21 — the same as Nigeria's new price.]

Nigeria and Algeria now have the second-highest prices in OPEC after Libya's \$34.72 per 42-gallon barrel, but Nigeria's increase is especially significant, because its crude is used almost exclusively to blend gasoline.

The United States imports about 1 million barrels per day from Nigeria, or about 12 percent of the na-

tion's total imports. Saudi Arabia, the nation's leading foreign oil supplier, raised its prices \$2 per barrel last Monday, touching off the most recent wave of increases.

Britain has been under pressure from the State Department not to raise the price of its North Sea oil, now selling for as much as \$29.75 per barrel.

The recent burst of increases came as prices on Europe's Rotterdam spot market declined after setting records earlier this month. The spot price drops were attributed to the high levels of production maintained by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq, and to lagging demand for crude oil in the industrial nations.

State Department and oil industry officials said that the latest round of increases represented a major setback to Saudi Arabia, leader of OPEC's moderate faction, which had hoped to unify the cartel's fractured pricing structure.

Since OPEC's December price-fixing meeting in Caracas, world oil prices have moved up rather than down from the high official prices set by Libya, Algeria and Iran — the "price hawks."

OPEC's weighted official price has risen to more than \$30 per barrel from \$13.77 per barrel a year ago.

In a related development, French Industry Minister Andre Grand said yesterday that the European Economic Community would open talks with the Arab oil producers in the Gulf region, perhaps in the next two months. He said the French had discussed the talks with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Venezuela Sets \$2 Rise  
CARACAS, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Venezuela announced last Friday an average \$2 increase per barrel in the cost of its oil, effective Wednesday. The action lifts the average price of Venezuela's light grade market crude to \$28 per barrel.

Venezuela had boosted its oil prices just before the last OPEC pricing meeting, which was held in Caracas in mid-December, and it did so again on Jan. 1.

Venezuela sends to the U.S. East Coast about 400,000 barrels per day of residual refined oil that is used to fuel electrical generating plants and heat large commercial buildings.

## Demirel Planning a Go-for-Broke Recovery

By Marc Rosenblum

ISTANBUL, Feb. 3 (IHT) — "When you feed a camel you run a risk of choking it," said a Turkish industrialist last night, gesturing as though the camel was close at hand. "It sticks there, but he eventually swallows it. Or he chokes."

That was how he explained Premier Suleyman Demirel's go-for-broke economic recovery plan.

## IHT SPECIAL REPORT

Second of two articles.

which, like many business leaders here, he supports fully as the only way to avoid a total collapse of Turkey's economy.

A spokesman for the leftist Confederation of Revolutionary Labor Unions (DISK), which has nearly a million members, expressed another view: "It's a neutron bomb."

And a respected political scientist put it this way: "This is a kamikaze operation. . . If he wins, he wins big. If he loses, he loses it all. I admire Demirel's political courage. And something drastic is needed. It might work. But I don't think it will."

Premier Demirel's goal is to restore confidence by removing cumbersome state control of the economy. Prices are to find their

## Turkish Premier's Tough New Economic Plan Is to Free State Controls; But Many Are Shocked

market level and stay there, reducing inflation that is nearly 100 percent. Industries, now producing at almost half their capacity, are to be allowed to import raw materials to end shortages and spur exports.

Foreign investment is to be made easier, with areas like mining and oil exploration opened to outside capital. State corporations, which are projected to run a combined deficit of \$5 billion this year, are free to charge what is necessary to come out even.

The black market "parallel economy" in which bankers say, as many goods and services are exchanged as in the official economy, is to be stamped out. Personal and business tax structures are to be reformed to achieve what Mr. Demirel called a fairer distribution of wealth.

A State of Bitter Shock

The government's first move, on Jan. 25, was to devalue the Turkish lira by 48 percent against the U.S. dollar, at least temporarily drying up the black market's "central bank," a cluster of illegal money changers in the old town sector of Taksim. This might bring into the economy hundreds of millions of dollars during the

coming months from Turkish workers abroad.

But the devaluation brought a barrage of price increases that left many of Turkey's hard-pressed 45-million inhabitants in a state of bitter shock.

Late last week 500 passengers stormed the gates without paying when they learned that ferry tickets between Istanbul and the outlying islands had risen by more than 400 percent. Many shopkeepers and landlords raised their prices by more than 50 percent as an automatic reflex. Grumbling was widespread and bitter.

Premier Demirel's major problem, analysts say, will be staying in office long enough to show the positive results that he promises. Although economists generally agree that his approach is a drastic departure from past policies, many Turks view it as just another round of the same thing that has been tried without success time and again.

While Mr. Demirel held lengthy news conferences over three days to defend the measures, his archrival, Bulent Ecevit, urged that his left-of-center backers resist the plan.

"This is a model imposed from the outside which will benefit

only the rich and the exploiters," Mr. Ecevit said.

Premier Demirel took office in October after Mr. Ecevit lost an early election under the nation's parliamentary system. It is Mr. Demirel's sixth time as premier since 1965, and this time his Justice Party has a minority mandate, ruling with votes from two smaller parties.

The next general elections are not until October, 1981, but Mr. Demirel could be removed earlier by parliamentary procedure. Part of his plan, including the tax reform, can only be enacted if voted by the legislature this spring.

The more optimistic say that what is needed is a simple priming of the pump. The water is there, they say, with reason, and they cite the hard-working labor force and vast land resources that already feed the nation without the need for food imports. Local manufacturers, when producing to capacity, can supply most domestic needs.

But others say the pump itself is the problem.

Recent political history shows little tendency toward a loyal opposition, they say; needed legislation can be stalled for purposes of self-interest. And sweeping re-

forms are essential to reduce the stifling bureaucracy that has deterred foreign investors from coming to Turkey in the past.

The range of opinion is wide, from politicians who see Turkey as a fully integrated part of Western Europe to Marxist groups who seek total revolution and to those who feel that Kemal Ataturk went too far in his reformist regime 50 years ago and want a return to fundamental Muslim tenets.

Some major unions have already denounced Premier Demirel's economic plan and said that their response will be in firm demands to offset the sacrifices that the government insists are necessary. "You can't ask people who are hungry and cold just to wait," is the way one leader put it. "There is a limit to the unions' control."

2,500 Dead

General tension is particularly high because of the terrorism that has claimed 2,500 lives on both the political left and right over the last two years. Under martial law, soldiers with submachine guns stand on street corners, question passersby and sometimes take over traffic control. Authorities have begun withholding information on terrorist incidents, which adds uncertainty to uneasiness.

In the interior, restive Kurds (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



## They Got Too Friendly With Afghans

## Russians Said Replacing Ethnic Reservists in Kabul

By James P. Sterba

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Feb. 3 (NYT) — They weren't told why they were alerted and they weren't told where they were going. Once they had crossed the Soviet frontier, their commanders told them that they were in Afghanistan to fight Americans and Chinese who had already invaded that country.

Now, after a month in which they discovered they were the invaders, the young Soviet reserve troops from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and other border republics have told newly made Afghan friends in Kabul that they are being sent home because they have become too friendly with the local population.

Afghan residents of Kabul who have slipped into Pakistan in the past week reported that the young ethnic Soviet reservists are gradually being replaced by main force Soviet Army soldiers who do not speak the local language and do not fraternize with the local people except in attempts to secure female companionship.

The early pretense of acting as advisers to Afghan soldiers and civilians has given way to a simple new hierarchy, they said: Russians give orders and Afghans follow them.

## Fear of Reprisals

The Afghans agreed to be interviewed only if their names were not used because they have many relatives still in Kabul and fear reprisals against them. Most of them have university degrees and four of them have relatives who continue to hold government jobs in Kabul.

At government buildings, they said, Afghan employees are searched at one door while Russians pass in and out freely at another door. Soviet civilians have taken over desks formerly occupied by department heads and even section heads.

From these positions, they issue orders and directives to Afghan workers. Russians write radio newscasts and television news scripts, then carefully monitor Afghan broadcasters to make sure the texts are read correctly, according to a woman whose close relatives work for Afghan television.

Although they are afraid to speak out on the Soviet takeover on the job, many former supporters of President Bahrak Karmal and his

Parham Party now complain among nonparty friends in their apartment buildings about Russian dominance.

Ten- to 15-year-old relatives of these sources started fraternizing with the Soviet reservist troops garrisoned around Kabul because

many of the Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turkmen among them spoke Farsi, Dari, or other local languages.

These troops, they said, grumbled about food shortages and were eager to sell flashlights, entrenching hardware, other tools, and even bullets for Afghan currency with

which to buy nam, the local unleavened bread, and other food. None of the bread produced by a huge government-run bakery has been sold in Kabul markets for several weeks. Residents believe it has been requisitioned to feed Soviet troops.

Nevertheless, the ethnic troops complained of food supply errors and hunger. Shopkeepers on the edges of the city near the Soviet garrisons and tank parks told these sources of Soviet troops simply walking up and taking foodstuffs at gunpoint.

Several teen-age relatives of these sources bought Soviet rifle bullets for one Afghan (about two cents each) and sold them on the black market in the city center for double that amount.

## Visits to Camps

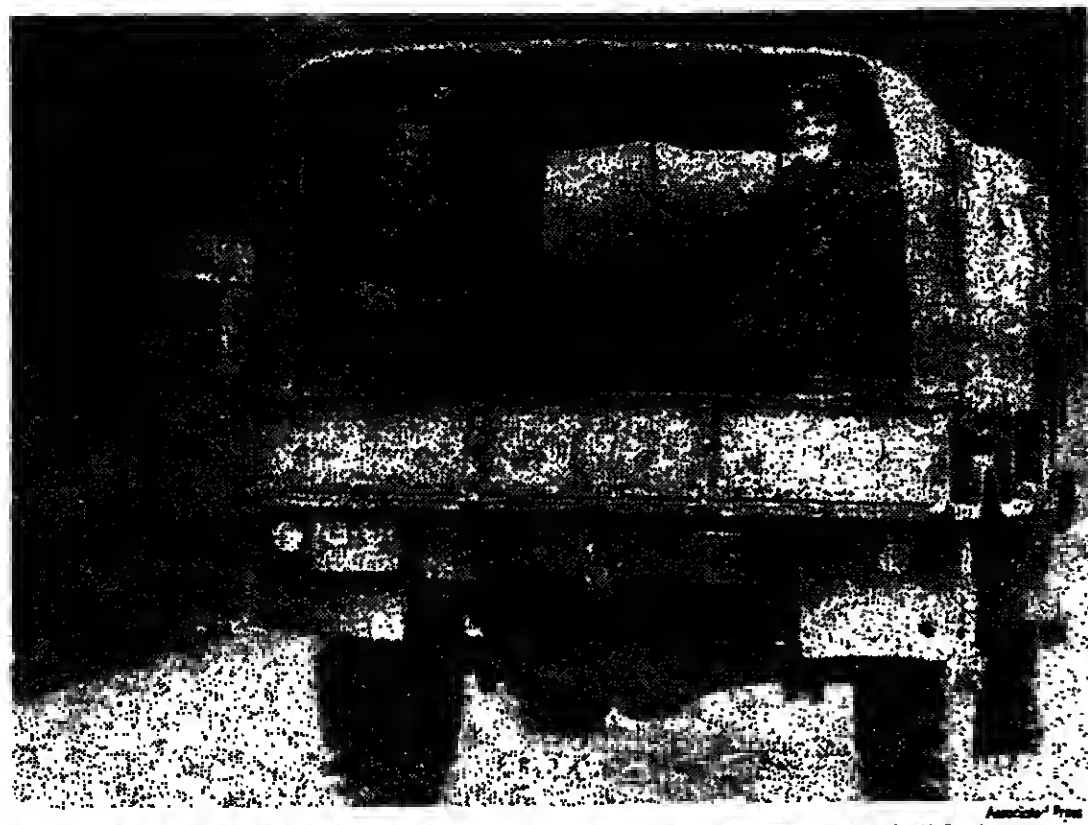
One of the Afghans in Islamabad said that a nephew and his friends went regularly in and out of two Soviet encampments near their homes on the southwestern edge of the city to trade with the troops. Many of whom were Tajiks. Their Tajik soldier friends said they could sell ammunition and then claim it had been used up during night guard duties, the youngsters said.

The Tajiks reportedly told them that rifle and machine-gun fire heard sporadically in the night for the past three weeks was partly the result of bored soldiers simply firing into the dark at dogs and other moving objects. But the Afghans who fled to Pakistan said that they believed some of the shooting came from the besieged Afghan compounds, with Russians remaining the fire.

The youngsters said that at least two small Afghan Army units loyal to the regime of former President Hafizullah Amin were holding out in compounds east and southwest of the capital. Soviet forces have reportedly surrounded them but have not attacked for fear of enraging Kabul residents.

The Afghans said that the Soviet troops whom their teen-age relatives befriended were apologetic about their presence. The soldiers told the teen-agers that they were not informed in December that they were moving into Afghanistan until their motorized columns were going down the highway toward Kabul. Then, they said, their commanders told them they were going to fight Chinese and U.S. military forces that they said had already invaded.

The troops said that as first they were scared and kept up at the prospect of fighting but then gradually became demoralized when their food supplies ran short and when they found themselves fighting and guarding against only local Afghans.



A Soviet soldier flashes a smile from the back of an army tank rumbling through Kabul's streets.

## Botched Up Kabul Coup Attempt

## Death of Soviet Aide Linked to Amin's

By David Binder

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (NYT) — Administration specialists on Soviet affairs say they had concluded that the death in December of a Soviet police official, Lt. Gen. Viktor Paputin, was linked to the deposing of President Hafizullah Amin in Afghanistan.

The American officials said that, although evidence on the exact circumstances of Paputin's death was

inconclusive, it was clear that he was involved in the removal of Amin, who was slain in the coup d'etat that began on the evening of Dec. 27.

"It is now fair to say that speculation is warranted that Paputin's death was linked to the ouster of Amin," a senior specialist observed. "Whether he died by an Afghan hand or by his own is unclear."

Paputin was first deputy minister of internal affairs. His "untimely death," two months short of his 54th birthday, was reported in a rather obscure fashion on Jan. 2 in Pravda, the Soviet Communist Party paper. It reported that he died Dec. 28 but did not explain where or how. The only other clearly established fact is that he was reported by both Afghan and Soviet publications to have conferred with Amin on Dec. 2 in Kabul.

## Four Versions of Events

The American specialists said that they had been studying four versions of the events surrounding the deaths of Amin and Paputin, all of which have common elements. In all versions, Paputin went to Kabul to persuade Amin to step aside or, at the very least, to accept greater Soviet control of Afghan affairs with the aim of reversing the tide of insurgency. Paputin apparently remained in Kabul three weeks.

During the preceding 20 months of Communist rule in Kabul, insurrection had spread to virtually every province, leaving the Communists in control of only the capital and, at most, four other urban centers.

Amin ousted his predecessor, President Nur Muhammad Taraki, in September. Taraki, favored by Moscow, was slain in the takeover.

In the four versions of the coup against Amin, Paputin botched the job. The differences involved details of events leading to the coup. In one version, Paputin, following instructions from Moscow, offered Amin a chance to survive if he would issue a formal invitation for Soviet troops to intervene in Afghanistan against the insurgents.

Such an intervention would represent a task well beyond the capacity and assignment of the 5,000 or so Soviet military advisers then in Afghanistan assisting the Afghan Army.

When, in this version, Amin refused the Paputin offer, an aide pulled out a machine pistol and killed the Russian. A gun battle ensued between Amin's guards and members of Paputin's escort. Some Russians escaped from the palace, made their way to the headquarters of the Soviet expeditionary force that had assembled about 12 miles away at the airport northeast of the capital and called for help.

Confusion in the Accounts That night — there is confusion in these accounts about whether the final Paputin-Amin encounter took place Dec. 26 or 27 — the Soviet forces reloaded with armored forces and bombers, virtually destroying Darulaman Palace and killing President Amin in the bombardment.

It has been confirmed, independently, the American officials said, that Amin had been in Darulaman Palace, that there had been a fight between Afghan and Soviet armored units and that the palace had been badly damaged.

In another version of the events, however, Paputin survived the Soviet-Afghan clashes in Kabul and returned to the Soviet Union, where he took his own life.

The suspicion that something like

## Jackson Sees Top Sandis

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia, Feb. 3 (UPI) — The Rev. Jesse Jackson, the American black civil rights leader, met yesterday with Crown Prince Fahd and other government officials, the state radio said.

this might have happened has gained some currency among the American specialists because of the Dec. 28 date mentioned by Pravda for his death and the peculiarity of his death notice. It appeared without the signature of party leader Leonid Brezhnev, as Paputin would customarily have been entitled to as a candidate member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee since 1971, and not as a front-page obituary, but on page 6.

and other ethnic groups bridle under the worsening conditions. Events in Iran and Afghanistan have further aggravated the problems of dealing with these minorities.

Turks, by and large, are in a grim mood after supporting a bone-melting winter with almost no heat because of fuel shortages. Electricity has been cut regularly for up to five hours a day. Coffee, a staple of Turkish life, can only be found occasionally at very high prices on the black market. Vegetable oil and lightbulbs are scarce. Questions form for imported cigarettes. Some basic items simply cannot be found.

Business Community Worries The business community worries that the foreign debt is approaching \$15 billion and, with an annual petroleum bill of \$3.5 billion, there is hardly any foreign exchange left for essentials, much less luxuries. Some industrialists express concern that the reforms come at a time when industrial nations are pushing their own exports, and international assistance is hard to find.

Many middle-class Turks are fed up with the situation. One woman office manager, after listening carefully to an explanation of why Mr. Demirel's plan was a new broad-brush approach, exploded in anger: "What about my life? It's the same, a plan to make the rich richer."

Lower-class Turks are affected by the 20 per cent unemployment acutely. A study at the University of Istanbul indicated that rural Turks who seek work in urban areas are seldom in a position to send money back to their villages, according to the traditional pattern. "Villagers say that if their relatives can stay in the cities without being a burden on them, that's already enough," is the way one professor put it.

Pollution and overcrowding add to the social tension. With power cuts and scarce oil, Turks depend on soft-brown lignite and wood for fuel. As a result, an almost solid brown cloud hangs over the cities, its noxious smell permeating the atmosphere.

Gandhi Shaking Up Intelligence Agency NEW DELHI, Feb. 3 (AP) — The government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has begun a shake-up of Indian intelligence services that moved against her and her supporters before she returned to power in last month's elections, officials say.

An official at the Central Bureau of Investigation said yesterday that two administrators, Director R.D. Singh and Deputy Inspector General N.K. Singh, on relation, have been ordered to go on leave for two months, and temporary replacements have been named. The CBI probed alleged abuses during the Gandhi administration that ended in 1977.

The Golden Horn, Istanbul's famed inlet off the Bosphorus, is so polluted that residents joke that a roll of exposed film dropped into it will develop by itself.

Nonetheless, private industry has been resourceful despite the crisis, and, from 1963 until 1978, the Turkish economy averaged 7 percent growth. Turkey has an elaborate road and communications network, with the capacity to expand production and farming under stable conditions.

Western allies, concerned with keeping Turkey strong against further Soviet moves, appear willing to support the Demirel plan whatever doubts they might have.

One diplomat made the point clearly: "What choice do we have?"

Mr. Demirel himself expresses confidence that his countrymen will understand the need for what he calls an amputation.

In many cases, Turks seem prepared to wait at least a little while on the theory that, as one daily paper put it, they have been down so long anything looks like up.

A shop owner in Istanbul's ancient covered bazaar echoed one common mood. He was dubious; he was unhappy. Business was bad, and he was cold. But what could he do? And, he added with a shrug, "maybe it will work."

Schmidt Arrives For Talks With Giscard in Paris

PARIS, Feb. 3 (UPI) — West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt arrived in Paris tonight and immediately set down with French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing at the start of a three-day summit to discuss ways to fortify relations with the United States without endangering détente with the Soviet Union.

Because of the tense international situation, the 35th Franco-German summit since 1963 began a day earlier than planned. Unlike previous meetings, the summit was to include 11 cabinet ministers from both nations. Defense ministers were represented for the first time in years.

Sources said the two leaders wanted to let the Soviet Union know that, if there is war, France and Germany will fight alongside the United States, although the possibility of an all-out conflict was seen as remote. But President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt also wanted Moscow to know they did not want a return to a world of two hostile blocs.

"The danger is that the hard line taken by the U.S. on Afghanistan and the Olympics could lead to a breakdown in détente," the sources said.

France and West Germany have condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Mr. Giscard d'Estaing issued a statement yesterday indicating that France wanted to remain a strong U.S. ally.



Robert Anders, in white rain coat in center, one of the six diplomats who fled Tehran last week with Canadian aid, is embraced on his arrival at the State Department in Washington. At right Henry Schatz, another of the freed diplomats, who spent three months as "guests" of Canada.

## Ambassador Details Escape

## Mysterious Call Prompted Tehran 'Canadian Caper'

By Michael Weisskopf

OTTAWA, Feb. 3 (WP) — A mysterious telephone call to the Canadian Embassy in Tehran on Jan. 19 by an unidentified man saying he knew that Americans were being provided sanctuary prompted the decision to smuggle the six U.S. diplomats out of Iran last Monday.

In his first press conference since masterminding the cloak-and-dagger escape, Canadian Ambassador Kenneth Taylor said Friday that Iranian officials may have known about his "house guests" and decided to tolerate their three-month stay in Canadian residences.

But the constant fear of being caught — underlined by the telephone call — became so intense by the third week of January, Mr. Taylor said, that he began the elaborate preparations to supply the Americans with Canadian passports and airplane tickets to West Germany.

On the day of departure, early Monday morning, the six Americans were driven to the Tehran airport in a Canadian Embassy car. Wearing clothing and carrying luggage provided by their hosts, they had prepared themselves to mask any sign of regional American accents, Mr. Taylor said.

## Two Maple Leafs

"They were the only people to wear two maple leaves," Canada's national emblem, said the diplomat, 45, a relaxed, bushy-haired man who has become a national hero since pulling off what has become known here as the "Canadian Caper."

Final plans to spirit the Americans out of Tehran were made only after he concluded, along with officials in Ottawa and Washington, that the escape would have no "negative impact" on the Americans held hostage in the U.S. Embassy.

The six diplomats had fled the besieged U.S. Embassy while Islamic militants were rounding up their colleagues in the front of the 24-acre compound on Nov. 4, Mr. Taylor said. For the next several days, he said, the escapees lived with friends around Tehran.

On Nov. 8, Mr. Taylor received his first call from one of the Americans. The caller said he and four fellow diplomats had managed to find temporary lodging in an unimpressive house but "it was increasingly difficult and they wondered if we could provide a safe haven," he said. They received help from "other friendly ambassadors," Mr. Taylor said.

After a brief discussion with other Canadian Embassy officials, Mr. Taylor decided to send a coded cable to his superiors in Ottawa, recommending that the Americans be given shelter. Word came back from the External Affairs Department immediately concurring with his suggestion, he said.

Afternoon Rendezvous A second call from the Americans came two days later. The diplomats were having even greater trouble finding refuge and they asked Mr. Taylor if "it would be acceptable if we made a rendezvous on that Saturday afternoon [Nov. 10]," he said.

From that Saturday afternoon on, they remained with us until their departure on Monday," he said.

Another American called Nov. 22, saying he had been staying with friends, but "his position was one which needed security," said Mr. Taylor. "He arrived to join us Nov. 22. That made the sixth."

For almost the next three months, the Americans lived in the staff quarters of the Canadian Embassy in the hilly, affluent section of North Tehran and nearby Canadian residences. They ventured forth only when it was absolutely necessary, Mr. Taylor said.

Iranian custodial and domestic workers at the embassy were told the Americans were "Canadian friends visiting us," Mr. Taylor said.

Although his staff and guests remained anxious throughout the venture, he said, the first unsettling moment came Dec. 10, when he received word that a newspaper disclosure of the Canadian hideaway might be written from Washington.

The story, however, was held back. Several possibilities were dis-

cussed for getting the Americans out. But Mr. Taylor finally decided that flying was the normal way to leave Iran and would most likely raise the least suspicion.

Canadian passports were believed to be the safest exit papers for the Americans, he said, because of the "possible surveillance of Iranian passports would create. By the middle of January he had received passports from Ottawa, approved by a special Cabinet order.

In the middle of the month, he began phasing out embassy personnel. Officials leaving Iran, by air, were instructed to report back on the methods used by Iranian customs officials at the airport, he said.

When the unidentified caller telephoned the Canadian Embassy with his ominous message that he knew of the clandestine operation, Mr. Taylor said, he knew that the Amer-

icans had to be removed from country quickly.

The caller first insisted on speaking to the ambassador. Told Mr. Taylor was not in, he demanded unsuccessfully to speak to two Americans inside — Jo Stafford, a consular officer, and wife, Kathleen, a consular assistant. The four other Americans — Mark Lick, a consular officer; wife, Cora, a consular officer; Robert Anders, a consular officer; and Henry Schatz, an agricultural attaché.

international commission going to Tehran to listen to the grievances, and an interim custody of the hostages.

During a visit to Iran in January, Mr. Waldheim said he was willing to form a group of sort to study Iranian complaints against the deposed shah. "We inquire into the violation of rights by the previous regime," he said at the time. He did not say how the investigation would be led or what part it might play leading to the freedom of the Americans.

Since then, Mr. Waldheim spoken of a "package solution" the hostage crisis that would include releasing the Americans to a party in Iran, such as the International Red Cross, while an international commission investigate allegations against the shah.

Meanwhile, Kurdish sources Tehran said that a government force had recaptured the town of Kanyaman today and stationed tanks outside the headquarters of the revolutionary guards.

The Sunday Times story followed a prediction on Friday by Rudiger von Weizsacker, the West German ambassador to the United Nations, that the hostages could be brought home in four to eight weeks as a result of a UN effort. The ambassador said that the plan, worked out by Mr. Waldheim, would involve an

U.S. Will Commit Troop If Russia Strikes Pakista

(Continued from Page 1)

package because of the renewed commitment to the area.

"You see we Orientals are funny people," he said. "Our values are a little different to the values in the West. We are not so materialistic. I think the greatest value that has been attached to it is that the United States of America's interests in this region, about which in the past I have been a little doubtful," had been reawakened.

The official joint statement issued after nearly 11 hours of talks, broken by Mr. Brezezinski's trip to the border region today, said that the two sides had agreed that "the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan and the aggression against the Moslem people of that country is a flagrant violation of international covenants and norms and a serious threat to the peace and security of Pakistan, the region, and the world."

Romania Accepts Line

VIENNA, Feb. 3 (Reuters) — Romania backed off from its independent line on Afghanistan this weekend, implicitly accepting Moscow's position on its intervention in Kabul after talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

The compromise, reached in Bucharest yesterday after three meetings between Mr. Gromyko and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, brought the maverick Communist state close to the position of its Warsaw Pact allies.

But Romania, the only pact country to implicitly criticize the Soviet action, still refused openly to sanction the intervention during

3 U.K. Reporters Missed

LONDON, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Three British reporters are in Afghanistan, the Foreign Office said today.

It said the three failed to return to their hotel in Kabul after Friday to drive toward the Afghan-Soviet border in the north.

They are Richard Balfo, Reuters, Elizabeth Thompson, Guardian, and Marcus Eliot, the Associated Press.

Since the Russians moved Afghanistan in December, attempting to drive north, turned back about 40 miles from Kabul. Some photographic cameramen have been detain a few hours.

## Olympic Officials Hope To Defeat Moscow Boycott

(Continued from Page 1)

contract since the organizing committee has done nothing to invalidate it."

The real point of the USOC proposal, the source said, is to buy time and to keep all options open. The proposal is understood to have been drafted after long consultation with Lord Killanin, the president of the IOC, who is said to be eager to use the Lake Placid meetings, just before the Winter Olympics, to find a solution that will allow American athletes to compete in Moscow.

Among the IOC's weapons in the search for a solution is the suggestion that the 1984 Summer Games could be taken away from Los Angeles if the United States boycotts the Games in Moscow. "If the U.S. Olympic Committee were suspended," the source explained, "the Los Angeles games could be imperiled."

The source noted that Rule 24c of the Olympic Charter says that a national Olympic committee must

be autonomous and resist any governmental pressure. "It is possible that if the USOC does boycott the Moscow Games in response to President Carter, the IOC could decide that the USOC has violated Rule 24c."

The question of autonomy, both for national Olympic committees and for the IOC, is primary in the feelings of Lord Killanin, who lives in Dublin.

Citing "the present delicate and fluid situation," he refuses to give any interviews before the Lake Placid meeting, but found it difficult to lie low Friday night when the French government decided to promote him to the rank of commander of the Legion d'Honneur.

He was already an officer of the order founded by Napoleon. In a speech and in remarks after a small ceremony at the home here of Ambassador Jacques Dupuy of France, the 65-year-old Irish peer forcefully defended his independence of the Olympic movement.

"The Olympic Games are the property of the International Olympic Committee, not of Russia nor the United States," he said in his speech. "We are the trustees of the Games, which are a competition between athletes, not nations."

"No one is compelled to attend the Games, no one is obliged to compete, but I must remind you that all entries are made by national Olympic committees and not by governments. The national Olympic committees must be autonomous and must resist any political pressure."

Lord Killanin alluded to the USOC proposal that the Games be delayed, and rejected this. "The rights to stage the Olympic Games cannot be carried forward, as some people are suggesting," he said. "When we awarded the Games to Moscow in 1974, the award was welcomed as the opening of the door. Now there are protests and the athletes seem to get forgotten in this world of politics."

He ended his short speech by thanking France for his award and noting that Ireland and France had contributed to the English language: "two words that are bare to my heart at this moment: boycott and chauvinism — boycott after Captain Boycott of County Mayo, and Chauvin after Corporal Chauvin of the French Army."

Afterward, meeting guests in the elegant salon, Lord Killanin amplified his remark about chauvinism. "The present situation is attributable to over-nationalism, one country wanting to be better than another," he said. "There is a grave danger now of splitting the sporting world into East-West rather than uniting them."

In other developments, officials in Washington said that the Carter administration is considering Melbourne or Montreal as alternative sites for the Games.

Kenya yesterday became the second black African country to ask that the United States be moved from Moscow, or boycotted because of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

A federal grand jury in Washington is expected to begin hearing evidence this week, although any move for indictments is considered weeks or months away, sources said.

FBI Probes In Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

sources said, Mr. Criden, a former assistant district attorney, allegedly told the undercover agents that he could introduce them to members of Congress who would help their "Arab" client for cash.

Sources said that Mr. Criden was questioned by FBI agents and began to cooperate, opening the door for confrontations with the four House members with whom he allegedly dealt. In each case, Mr. Criden or the member is alleged to have accepted about \$50,000 in cash in return for promises to help a supposed Arab oil sheikh with any problems he might have entering the United States or settling here.

Immigration Bill

Rep. Jenrette reportedly was recorded as talking about accepting \$50,000 for an immigration bill, and the money was later picked up by an associate, sources said.

(Rep. Jenrette's office in South Carolina said that FBI agents visited him for two hours yesterday afternoon in Washington, United Press International reported. Aides said that Rep. Jenrette had no comment. Rep. Murtha told of having met two men he thought were Arabs, but he said he took no money and was offered none.)

Sen. Williams was implicated when he agreed to help in obtaining military contracts for a titanium mine for which he received stock, the sources said. He said in a statement issued by his office: "Nobody from the Department of Justice has talked to me at all about this. In fact, not one soul has talked to me. Honestly, I can't say I don't have any comment on this."

A federal grand jury in Washington is expected to begin hearing evidence this week, although any move for indictments is considered weeks or months away, sources said.



# Pentagon Report Concludes U.S. Forces Could Not Stop Soviet IncurSION in Iran

By Richard Burr

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (NYT) — Secret Defense Department report on the military situation in the Persian Gulf has concluded that U.S. forces could not stop a Soviet thrust into the region and that the United States therefore should consider using tactical nuclear weapons to contain the threat.

The report also concludes that the United States possibly could

handle Soviet threats to oil tankers in the area and might be able to match any effort by Moscow to move forces into Saudi Arabia.

The Pentagon report, entitled "Capabilities in the Persian Gulf," was described by officials as the most extensive military study of the region ever done by the government. Completed after the revolution in Iran but before the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan late last year, the report examines the capa-

city of the United States to respond to a number of potential contingencies including a Soviet attack on Iran, an attempt by Moscow to bomb major oil facilities in the Gulf and a Soviet submarine campaign against Western oil tankers in the Indian Ocean.

The 70-page report was commissioned by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown almost two years ago after an interagency study concluded that the Gulf was the most likely

flash point for a confrontation between Moscow and Washington. It was prepared by military officers as well as civilian analysts in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and it is said to have laid the groundwork for the administration's effort to bolster local defenses and the U.S. forces in the region.

## 'Carter Doctrine'

The disclosure of the report was made amid a growing debate over the "Carter Doctrine," the president's recent pledge to use force, if necessary, to protect what he called the United States' vital interests in the Gulf. In hearings on Capitol Hill last week, Mr. Brown and other top military aides repeatedly were pressed on whether the United States could defend oil supplies in the event of a large-scale Soviet attack.

One of the most outspoken skeptics of the ability of U.S. forces to carry out Mr. Carter's commitment to the Gulf was Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., who asked Mr. Brown "whether it's wise to lay down a doctrine when there is serious doubt whether it can be upheld."

While Mr. Brown and other officials argued that it was possible to deter any major Soviet attack, they acknowledged that Moscow had important military advantages in the area. The report reinforces this point and stresses that, unlike Western Europe, the Soviet-U.S. military balance consists not of the forces that Washington and Moscow keep in the region but of the men and equipment that each could move rapidly to the area in the event of a conflict.

After stating that Moscow's taking control of Gulf oil would "destroy NATO and the American-Japanese alliance without recourse to war by the Soviets," the report lists the large forces available to the Soviet Union in the northern Caucasus, Transcaucasia and Turkmenistan districts: 23 mechanized divisions consisting of about 200,000 troops, 70 tactical fighters including 35 advanced Fencer fighter-bombers, and 193 long-range bombers. In addition, the report says that Moscow has 103 naval bombers and about 10 submarines that it could commit against U.S. aircraft carriers in the Indian Ocean.

## Seizure of Iran

Calling a sudden seizure of Iran the worst situation from the U.S. point of view, the report maintains that Moscow might be tempted to exploit the political turmoil in the country to change the worldwide balance. It also says that all 23 of the Soviet divisions just north of Iran could be mobilized and moved into northwest Iran in about a month.

While the report notes that Soviet forces opposite Iran are not as well equipped as units in Eastern Europe, it says that the Iranians would not soon be able to contribute effectively to their own defense. And in the likely contingency that U.S. forces were asked to bolster Iranian defenses, the report discloses that it would take Washington 30 days to get about 20,000 troops and four tactical fighter squadrons, about 72 aircraft, to the country.

The only opportunity for stopping a Soviet thrust, the report continues, would be to impede Soviet forces in the rugged terrain along the Soviet border and in the mountains to the southeast. "Unless the mountains can be exploited or substantial assistance can be obtained from allies," it adds, "the Soviets will surely prevail easily because of their large advantage over us in ground forces."

The report concludes that, "to prevail in an Iranian scenario, we might have to threaten or make use of tactical nuclear weapons."

The report is more optimistic about Washington's ability to deal with other threats in the region, particularly any attempt to disrupt oil shipments on tankers leaving the Gulf. "Until recently," the report says, "it was widely believed that the Soviets could close the sea-lanes rather easily through mining and through attacks by submarines and aircraft. However, our analysis indicates that Soviet submarines would have severe problems because of the long distances between the region and their home bases," the northern Pacific and in the White Sea in the western Soviet Union.

The report estimates that in 30 days Soviet submarines and bombers could sink about 30 percent of the 550 loaded oil tankers in the sea-lanes leading from the Gulf. But it says that, after a month or so, U.S. anti-submarine warfare planes and fighter-interceptors flow into the region quickly would produce "results favorable to the West."

In making this assessment, however, the report assumes that the United States could make full use of naval bases in such countries as Oman and Djibouti. It also notes that it would be an ominous development if the Russians built major regional port facilities for resupplying submarines in the area, and maintains that "our ability to deny the Soviets a submarine resupply sanctuary near the Cape of Good Hope will depend on cooperation from South Africa."

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## In Case of an Energy Emergency

# U.S. Sets New Rules on Gas Conservation

By John M. Berry

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (WP) — Department of Energy tomorrow will issue regulations for several standby gasoline conservation measures, including a one-day mandatory reduction in the workweek, limiting weekend use of pleasure cars, and banning the use of all the cars in a household for one to three days a week.

The new measures, certain to be controversial, could be imposed by the president in states not meeting targets for a reduction in gasoline use after he had declared an energy emergency, presumably because of an interruption in the supply of oil.

The states would have 45 days to draw up plans for meeting mandatory conservation cuts set by the department, and the government would have 30 days to approve the plans. If there is at least a 10 percent shortage and a state not meeting its targets, then the federal government could impose any or all of nine measures to be published tomorrow.

Requiring employers of large firms to take steps to reduce k-related travel, including commuting by car.

State-sponsored advertising campaign intended to increase use of mass transit, car pools and other means of conserving energy.

Odd-even gasoline sales regulations.

Minimum gasoline purchase requirements, probably \$7 for large and \$5 for small cars.

Stricter enforcement of the 55-mph speed limit, and bans lowering it to 50 mph.

Making permanent the present advisory controls on nonresidential buildings temperatures, which are in April but can be extended the president.

Officials in the department hope to avoid using mandatory measures.

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including most of these, unless a significant oil shortage develops, which most think is unlikely in 1980.

Initially, the states were given proposed targets by the administration that were consistent with average national use of 7 million barrels a day of gasoline in 1980. Last year's use averaged 7.05 million barrels a day, and Energy Secretary Charles Duncan cautioned last week that the 7 million barrel target might be tightened.

Accuses Carter of 'War Hysteria'

# Kennedy Moves Leftward With Energy Proposals

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (NYT)

Moving still closer to traditional liberal positions, Sen. Edward Kennedy yesterday proposed an energy program based on conservation, renewable resources, limited synthetic fuel production and federal funds for coal conversion.

The Massachusetts Democrat, who is attempting to revitalize his flagging presidential campaign, also called for new controls on oil prices instead of the gradual deregulation now under way, and urged a moratorium on the construction and operation of nuclear power plants "while their safety remains in doubt."

On Friday, Sen. Kennedy, campaigning in New England, charged that President Carter's "failure" in foreign policy had created "war hysteria" in the United States. He also said that the president was playing politics with foreign policy.

Shift in Thinking

His 10-page statement on energy policy was released in Washington five days after a speech at Georgetown University in which he called for mandatory wage and price controls and standby gasoline rationing.

Yesterday's proposals provided further evidence that he is pushing his campaign more firmly to the left. Last October, for example, he said in an interview that he considered the decontrol of oil prices a closed subject, yesterday, he said that "the next administration should reconquer" oil prices to protect the poor and average-income consumer.

The senator contended that his long-term plan would save more than 6 million barrels of imported oil a day by 1990.

Most of the savings would come from his plan to improve energy efficiency in homes, offices and factories, an idea that has been widely criticized since Sen. Kennedy first proposed it last year. One complaint is that, in reimbursing homeowners for the first \$750 of energy-saving equipment, the plan would provide no incentive for them to spend more than the \$750.

In addition, Sen. Kennedy maintains that a million barrels of oil a day can be saved by having the federal government pay up to half the

cost of conversion to coal by electric power plants.

While the senator contends that a lack of capital has been hampering coal conversion, most energy experts agree that a more serious problem has been regulatory restrictions, standards that Sen. Kennedy wholeheartedly endorsed yesterday.

Identical Goals

As for renewable energy resources, the Kennedy goal of a 20-percent share of energy supplies by the year 2000 is identical to Mr. Carter's aim.

Finally, Sen. Kennedy suggests a limited synthetic fuel plan but does not give details, and calls for efforts to increase the foreign sources of oil.

For the short term, the senator suggests a combination of gasoline rationing, building up the strategic petroleum reserve and a reserve production capacity.

The rationing plan is similar to Mr. Carter's standby proposal except that it is based on drivers' licenses rather than automobile registration, which would put more gasoline at the disposal of the poor. After three years of gradual reductions, a motorist would get 11 gallons a week, as opposed to an average use now of 14 gallons per driver.

Sen. Kennedy's latest criticism of presidential diplomacy was made in an interview Friday morning in Boston with CBS News and later at a midday press conference in Kittery, Maine.

In Boston, the senator questioned the president's characterization of the Afghanistan crisis as the most serious since World War II.

"Of course it's a serious crisis," he said. "But I think there's a war hysteria in this country now and it has been built up. It's diverting attention from the real issues."

In Kittery, the senator elaborated on the war hysteria phrase by saying that the situation was "directly attributable to the failures in American foreign policy over the last three years." He said, "The failures have to be attributed to this administration and to the president and there can be no escaping the responsibility."

The Jordan West Bank and Gaza Strip. They remain well apart on the major issues, however, such as the actual status of the territory and the rights of Arabs living in Israeli-annexed East Jerusalem.

Israeli Budget Cuts Approved

JERUSALEM, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Mr. Begin avoided a government crisis today by gaining Cabinet approval for strict budget cuts requested by the Finance Ministry to tame Israel's inflation, now running at 111 percent.

The Cabinet decided to remain within a budget ceiling of \$11 billion previously agreed on, and to seek ways to cut this year's budget 6 percent from last year's in all ministries except defense, as prescribed by Finance Minister Yigael Huzar.

In other developments:

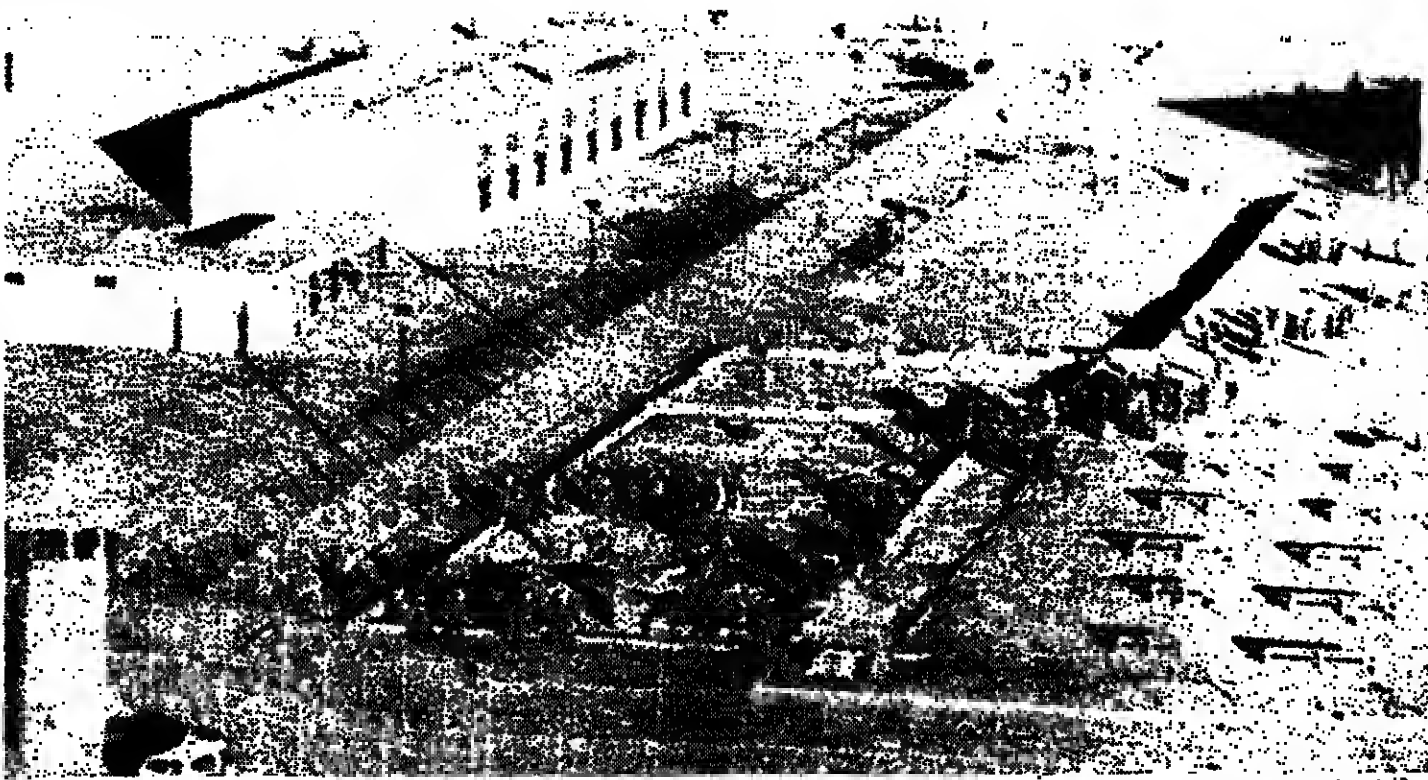
• A bomb planted by Palestinian guerrillas wounded six persons, including a mother and her 3-year-old daughter, when it exploded today inside a trash can on the crowded main street of Rehovot, south of Tel Aviv.

• Funeral services were held today for Yehoshua Sloma, 23, an immigrant from Denmark who was shot in the head last week, allegedly by Arab assassins, in the West Bank town of Hebron.

• Jewish settlers and West Bank Arabs yesterday threw rocks at each other outside Hebron and an elderly Arab man was injured, the state-run radio said.

Palestinians Shelled

NABATIYEH, Lebanon, Feb. 3 (AP) — Israeli border positions teamed with rightist Christian forces yesterday in shelling Palestinian guerrilla positions at the southern Lebanese town, wrecking an important power plant, provincial authorities and residents said.



Prisoners who refused to join the takeover Saturday of the New Mexico State Penitentiary gather in the recreation area.

## Seven Guards Held Hostage

# Inmates Seize New Mexico Prison, Slayings Reported

SANTA FE, N.M., Feb. 3 (UPI)

Rebellious inmates seized the New Mexico State Penitentiary and were holding seven guards hostage today in the worst U.S. prison riot since 32 prisoners and 10 guards and civilian employees died in a 1971 revolt at a state institution in Attica, N.Y.

Reports from inside the walls said 20 to 25 inmates had been killed and at least 33 injured, many in grisly reprisals by their fellow prisoners.

About 280 of an estimated 450 inmates who surrendered to authorities rather than join in the uprising huddled outside in a recreation area with only blankets to protect them against freezing temperatures. The others who gave up were housed in an unused women's annex.

2 Guards Beaten

That left approximately 750 prisoners still inside the partly burning prison, now ringed by National Guardsmen and police.

A guard who escaped in a patrol vehicle said the riot apparently started yesterday when two guards were seized and beaten.

Horror stories filtered out of the prison, some rumors but others confirmed, that some inmates were castrated, one was burned to death with a blowtorch, another was hanged and one was virtually beheaded with a shovel. One inmate was hospitalized after he was attacked with a meat cleaver.

Negotiations between inmates and authorities were established early this morning and a plan to exchange hostage guards for an equal number of news reporters was agreed to.

After four guards were released, however, the exchange plan was canceled. Earlier, three of the 14 guards originally seized were released for treatment of serious injuries. Negotiations continued via walkie-talkie.

Dr. Richard Stenzhorn, a medical officer with the National Guard, said some inmates who fled the riot had "vicious wounds." State officials estimated that \$10 million in damage had been done to the prison buildings.

List of Demands

The inmates presented officials with a list of 11 demands, based on complaints of overcrowding, visiting restrictions, poor food and lack of recreational and educational facilities.

In response, Warden Jerry Griffin's staff and Gov. Bruce King's office said revised visiting rights had been worked out recently with the American Civil Liberties Union, which also was negotiating to improve recreational facilities.

They also said a nutritionist would be hired to oversee food preparation, inmate wages would be raised from the current 25 cents per hour and about 288 beds would be added in July. Officials also said they were seeking state funds for another 200 beds.

"These men are not demanding

anything that is outrageous, although they're going about it in the wrong way," Steven Richards, chairman of the state Corrections Commission, said. He said the prison just exploded.

Some of the inmate negotiators appeared to be unsteady and in-

coherent and prison officials theorized that these men had sniffed glue after breaking into pharmaceutical supplies. One prisoner said inmates broke into the infirmary and took all the drugs there.

Damage was caused by water from broken pipes, fires and con-

victs who smashed equipment. Authorities said inmates who had escaped told them knee-deep water had filled some cell blocks.

Mr. Richards said at least 4 of the 10 cell blocks were extensively damaged and an education complex was destroyed.

## Cambodian Guerrillas Aided, Diplomat Says

# Vietnam Asserts a U.S.-China Coalition

From Agency Dispatches

PEKING, Feb. 3 — Vietnam asserted today that the United States, China and Thailand had formed a coalition to aid Cambodian guerrilla forces now fighting Vietnamese forces near the Thai border.

The claim came from the Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem, leader of a Vietnamese delegation now in Peking for talks with China on improving relations between the two countries.

In an interview, Mr. Liem said the United States was supplying food and the Chinese were sending guns to Cambodian forces led by former Premier Pol Pot. Mr. Liem said that Thailand was providing transport for the food and weapons.

"There is now some coalition between China and the United States to use China as a base to help Pol Pot and other reactionary forces," Mr. Liem said. That is clear, we have some very concrete proof about this."

"The prime minister of Thailand says his country is neutral but in reality his is not neutral," he added.

"So-Called Humanitarian Food"

Asked how the United States was aiding the Pol Pot forces, Mr. Liem cited food as an example. "They use the so-called humanitarian food, but this food is sent to Pol Pot."

Mr. Liem has led a Vietnamese delegation through eight months of talks with the Chinese on improving relations.

He said the weapons used by the Pol Pot forces came from China and are transferred to the Cambodian guerrillas by Thai military helicopters. The Vietnamese diplomat said that the Cambodian guerrillas are operating from bases in Thailand. When the leaders leave their jungle bases for trips abroad, he said, they are transported in Thai military helicopters.

In the Thai border town of Aranyaprathet, a military spokesman disclosed yesterday that Thai soldiers had killed 32 "free Khmer" troops and wounded several others during a two-hour clash on Thursday.

The command said that the Thai

soldiers moved against the Cambodian rebels after they attacked the Thai village of Non Mark Moon.

The fighting reportedly started when three Thai men snatched valuable items from Cambodian gold traders.

In Hanoi, Vietnamese Communist Party Secretary General Le Duan announced yesterday a party purge that observers said will mostly affect local cadres, Agence France-Press reported.

Party "underlings" who have served in South Vietnam since 1975, rather than leaders regarded as ideological "deviations," will be hit first and hardest, the observers said.

Along with the purge will come the first distribution of party registration cards since the Communist Party was set up by President Ho Chi Minh 50 years ago. Distribution will begin nationwide today, reliable sources told AFP.

Heads are not expected to roll, at least not important ones, but observers did not rule out the possibility that the balance of power in the Central Committee, or even the ruling Politburo, might be altered.

At ceremonies marking the party's 50th anniversary yesterday, Le Duan said Vietnam "must close ranks with the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States."

Bodies of U.S. Servicemen

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Feb. 3 (AP) — Vietnam denied yesterday that it has the bodies of 400 American servicemen stored in a Hanoi

Soweto Blacks

To Boycott Class

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Soweto's black pupils voted at a protest meeting yesterday to stay away from their classrooms until all white national servicemen teaching at black schools in the township are withdrawn.

The meeting, organized by two black activist student bodies, the Azanian Students Organizations and the Congress of South African Students, also voted to stop wearing school uniforms until these were standardized and to pay no more than the four Rands (about \$4.80) annual school fees laid down by the government.

While local and foreign journalists were barred from entering the Regina Mundi church hall in Soweto to report on the proceedings, black journalists were initially also prevented from taking notes or taking photographs. An estimated 2,000 pupils and their parents decided that, while students would attend school, they would not enter classrooms where white national servicemen, qualified teachers doing their military training, gave lessons.

Six Sardinians

Tied to Kidnap

NUORO, Sardinia, Feb. 3 (AP) — Six Sardinians suspected of kidnapping British engineer Rolf Schild and his family were sentenced to prison yesterday for the attempted murder of a policeman on Dec. 17 in the countryside near here.

On Friday, authorities told the men that they would be investigated in connection with the abduction of Mr. Schild, 56, his wife Daphne, 51, and their daughter Annabel Maria, 15, last Aug. 21 as they returned to their villa at Palau on the island's northern coast.

## 50 Drown in India River

NEW DELHI, Feb. 3 (Reuters) — About 50 persons were feared drowned when an overloaded boat capsized Friday in the Sarayu River near Faizabad in northern India, the Press Trust of India reported.

# SONESTA FLORIDA STYLE



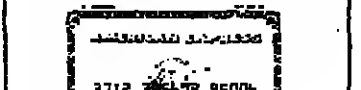
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## Uneasy About South Asia

It is hard to watch Zbigniew Brzezinski and Clark Clifford tracking over South Asia — the one sewing up the details of a substantial military (and economic) package to Pakistan, the other offering a new arms package including sophisticated guidance systems and "smart bombs" to India — without feeling a little warning buzz of unease.

Yes, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has created a need for demonstrating solidarity with Pakistan — as much to brighten deterrence by advertising the U.S. connection as to strengthen defense by providing more modern tanks and planes. And yes, any move to bolster Pakistan creates a political requirement to mollify India — so that a policy undertaken to equip South Asia to deal better with external menace will not end up simply aggravating the tensions that have produced three wars between India and Pakistan in the last 30 years.

We know all this and you know all this and yet there is this uneasiness. Why? An awful lot is happening awfully fast. For three years, South Asia ranked relatively low on the Carter administration's list of international priorities. This had its reasons: The region has not been a conspicuous arena of U.S. diplomatic achievement, and the United States had more pressing concerns elsewhere. If there was one major theme knitting together the administration's various approaches to the subcontinent, it was a deliberate, diligent though lamentably ineffective effort to divert both India and Pakistan from their respective programs to build nuclear bombs.

The Afghan crisis thrust upon the administration pressures to act promptly and surely in a region it had pretty much set to one side. The first thing it did was to suspend the separate punitive actions it undertook against

both Pakistan and India on account of their nuclear programs. The next result, the one being carried forward by the Brzezinski and Clifford missions, was to enter into new discussions on regional security.

Where it will come out is hard to say. But the evident fact is that the United States has removed whatever inhibitions its previous nonproliferation policy placed on the nuclear development of these two rivals, and it is helping them conventionally rearm. It is doing so in a larger political context in which Pakistan openly, even rudely, questions whether the United States is a reliable and adequately generous patron, while India, whose vastly superior military forces come mostly from Moscow, openly pursues a strategy of more or less accommodation with the Soviet Union. The kinds of arms the United States is providing, moreover, seem to fit the traditional preoccupation of the Indian and Pakistani general staffs with each other.

We recognize that it is too much to ask that the United States dot all its cross all its before trying to help brace a shaky region flanking the crucial Gulf. At the least, however, the policies that Mr. Brzezinski and Mr. Clifford have been elaborating should be closely examined. The security issues and their political implications obviously deserve attention. But how does the administration now intend to deal with the specter of the spread of nuclear weapons on the subcontinent? Surely the tension in that part of the world can only reinforce the belief that the last thing needed there is nuclear weapons.

The crisis, in other words, cuts both ways. The administration must be able to show that in order to meet urgent short-term requirements it is not abandoning objectives that were, and are, essential and right.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## No Bleep on Moral Radar

The question of East Timor continues to hover at the edges of the U.S. political and moral radar screen. It only begins with the fact that the place is hard to locate: It's an island — actually, half an island — in the Indonesian archipelago. Until things came apart in the mid-1970s, it was an obscure outpost of the Portuguese empire. In the local struggle for the succession, one side surged ahead and proclaimed independence; but barely a week later, the Indonesian army moved in, using U.S. weapons and diplomatic support, and annexed it. Indonesia is currently friendly and anti-communist, a big oil producer, the most populous Moslem country in the world: All reasons why, informed critics feel, the United States has mostly averted its gaze from what Indonesia has been doing to East Timor. What Indonesia has been doing, these critics say, is mercilessly grinding the people down.

When such reports appear, as they do from time to time in the press or at the occasional congressional hearing, a curious thing happens. Frightful stories are told of huge numbers of Timorese deaths caused by the guns or famine-inducing pacification policies of the Indonesian army. Lately there have been heart-rending accounts of the brutalization of ethnic Chinese trying to depart a place where their community has lived for 100

years. Then the U.S. officials come on, suggesting that the critics' information is out of date and perhaps politically skewed. There is, it is said, no real merit to allegations that the food aid that has been going into the country since last year is being diverted or stolen by Indonesian soldiers. A certain sympathy is solicited for U.S. efforts to induce the reluctant Indonesians to allow international agencies to distribute food and to admit a few foreign visitors. East Timor, after all, has to be fitted into the broader context of U.S. interests in Indonesia.

East Timor exists in a geographical eddy and a political eddy. Indonesia has smarted under the persistent Third World criticism organized by other former colonies, but it has not smarted enough to make the changes that would bring the refugee and relief-agency horror stories to an end. It is very hard to make a strong claim to push East Timor higher up the list of U.S. priorities. But it should also be very hard for U.S. diplomats not to convey to Indonesian authorities, quietly but insistently, that an increasing number of Americans are baffled by Jakarta's policy in East Timor and that it cannot be in Indonesia's interest to let the question fester more.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Sake by Candlelight

Last June, when the leaders of the West gathered in Tokyo to discuss energy, the dignitaries were ferried about in great gas-guzzling limousines. Japan's Prime Minister Ohira set a better example. Shunning air conditioning in the heat, he simply took off his coat. Now Ohira is at it again. Japan is completely dependent on imported oil and the troubles in the Middle East have caused extra worry. So his government has proposed a curfew for the bright lights of Tokyo.

Bars and restaurants, according to the voluntary plan, would close at midnight and their signs go dark. Television programs would end at the same hour. Speed limits of 31 miles an hour would be observed in town, 50 mph on highways. If the Japanese comply — and voluntary conservation is more obligatory in Japan than it is in the United States — the new measures alone could save about 124 million barrels of oil a year, 7 percent of the nation's consumption. And the Japanese won't suffer for their efforts. Neither would Americans if they took conservation as seriously.

Moreover, the Japanese may soon rediscover an old native solace for the dimming of the Ginza. A rice surplus has caused the government to ask that sake, made from rice, be drunk at official functions in place of imported champagne. The point is to use what's available instead of what is scarce, and to inspire the sake industry along the way. So if consolation is needed, there is at least sake by candlelight, which doesn't sound at all bad.

Will Jimmy Carter suggest bourbon and beer as well as gasoline to soak up the grain withheld from Russian cattle? The idea wouldn't sell. The U.S. conservation program is still too weak to celebrate, and since it's painless, Americans can feel no need for solace. Dependence on foreign oil just goes on and on. The office towers still blaze with light at midnight, and a department-store window attracts passers-by, like moths, with 100 switched-on televisions. So we'll wait. And if somebody later turns the lights out for us, we can drink moonshine by firefly.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

### In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago  
February 4, 1905

NEW YORK — Joseph Pulitzer has postponed the establishment of his College of Journalism until after his death. The principal reason given is his inability to find an ideal man to head it. A statement made for him says that \$1 million has been already given to Columbia, and that the school will be established after his death. The precarious state of Mr. Pulitzer's health, his consequent inability to give the subject adequate attention, his individual temperament, which might hamper the faculty of the school, and his indisposition to have a great institution suffer from possible political and professional prejudices, combine to form his decision.

Fifty Years Ago  
February 4, 1930

CHICAGO — Chicago apparently is on the verge of a financial dictatorship. The only money in sight for the city's 40,000 unpaid employees is in the hands of the Citizens' Committee headed by Silas Strawn, and he appears to be slated for the post of financial director whether he wants it or not. This step is held to be the only logical cure for Chicago's financial ills. Gov. Louis Emmerson has exacted a promise from the Citizens' Committee to start the flow of money which they have agreed to raise into the city and county treasuries by June 1. This date corresponds with the deadline set by the governor for payment of taxes to the state.



## New Watch on the Rhine . . .

By C.L. Sulzberger

PARIS — Western Europe, which should be the strongest political and economic ally of the United States because of NATO's cohesive tradition, still shows considerable official division over U.S. policy on the South Asian crisis and its political ramifications.

It is hard to assess how wide the real gap is and how much is artificially induced merely to appeal to local political desires in forthcoming elections. This is especially puzzling with respect to West Germany and France as Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing opened their summit meeting in Paris yesterday.

Chancellor Schmidt has never placed much trust in President Carter's judgment and plainly dislikes Zbigniew Brzezinski, his security adviser. Schmidt obviously seeks to attract support of voters demanding a continued policy of détente with Moscow and here he is backed by leading Social Democratic colleagues including Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr.

**Kremlin Diplomacy.** Kremlin diplomacy, aware of the chancellor's electoral analysis, is playing a skillful game in Bonn compounded of mixed blandishments and menaces. Thereby it hopes to offset Washington's attempt to tighten allied solidarity in the wake of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and the implied threat of subsequent expansionist moves.

To some degree Bonn's approach is reflected in Paris. Although, unlike Schmidt, President Giscard d'Estaing won't face the voters until next year, he plainly wishes to persuade his electorate that France remains a free hand; to demonstrate that his government is not aligned with the United States and differentiates itself from Carter's current assumptions.

One tangential result of such policy has been heightened coolness between Paris and London. The Elysee Palace considers that Prime Minister Thatcher is reverting to the traditional "special relationship" with Washington, proving itself by outspoken support for Carter's position as un-European as Gen. de Gaulle always claimed.

One aim of Giscard's intended approach is to prevent the Gaullist party from rallying center-right opinion against his re-election on grounds that he is insufficiently nationalistic. Giscard d'Estaing doesn't relish accusations of "going along" with the United States. He endorsed a neutralistic commu-

nique with Indira Gandhi at the end of his recent Indian visit.

This technique is not only grist for Giscard d'Estaing's anti-Gaullist mill but, in De Gaulle's own effective formulation, cuts into Communist opposition on the left. The evident thrust of Giscard d'Estaing's logic is that this crisis will pass when the superpowers come to an arrangement not requiring European participation.

Yet, as Henry Kissinger has insisted, the European allies cannot rely on U.S. military protection, which détente is destroyed, if they also insist that all crises need only be faced by negotiating.

France today is trying to have and eat its cake much as it did during the Arab oil cut-off in 1973 when Paris agreed the West must act in concert but simultaneously refused to join the International Energy Agency created to deal with the embargo.

Washington clearly hopes to convince European skeptics that the Carter administration has abandoned previous tergiversations for a steadfast policy recognizing that fundamental U.S. and European interests run parallel. This effort is made easier by hardening U.S. opinion caused by the grab of U.S. Embassy hostages in Iran prior to the Afghanistan invasion. This illegal act had already erased much of the Vietnam-Watergate trauma in the United States and consequent paralysis.

Privately some French leaders accept this and even argue that Washington's recent reactions have been too soft. However no one associated with Giscard d'Estaing's government ventures openly to support a tough policy. Meanwhile, the Elysee Palace proclaims its wish to maintain lines of communication between West and East and to avoid punishment of Moscow by boycotting the Olympic Games.

**Displeasure.** Nevertheless, popular opinion here manifests growing displeasure with such restraint. Intellectuals from Jean-Paul Sartre on the left to Raymond Aron on the right are speaking out. The Socialist Party and even the Giscardian party are split. Simone Veil, president of the European Parliament and Giscard d'Estaing's former minister, supports the U.S. position. Meanwhile, certain Gaullists argue that the reversed general would have insisted more on "French" interests and less on superpower differences.

The time has come to recognize that Moscow's shameless expansionism is the direct result of the craven behavior of the West, its capitulation at Helsinki and its misplaced trust in Soviet promises, not to mention the one-sided weakening of NATO's armed forces.

In fact, these are the policies that Mr. Lewis has ardently supported and advocated during these last few years. It seems that even now he fails to understand that precisely these policies of linkage and one-way détente have created the conditions that Mr. Brezhnev's government is exploiting to the full at present.

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AL HIX.

For those who do not accept the Elysee's assumption that the Afghan crisis will dwindle and vanish in two months, the soothing syrup being confectioned here these days by the French president and the West German chancellor is an inadequate prescription. They insist the Soviet Union must pay a price if it violates international standards, especially outside its imperial sphere.

Should these tough views gather force they might well influence the ballot-box appeal of both Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing. Such, at any rate, is possible unless the West German and French leaders accommodate public sentiment by stiffening their positions, a shift perhaps less likely on the east bank of the Rhine than here on the west bank.

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## A Little Spookspeak Assures Confusion

By William Safire

NEW YORK — "U.P.S." — to most of us not on downers — is initials for United Parcel Service. To the guardians of the nation's secrets, however, U.P.S. stands for "uncontested physical searches," the newest euphemism for the break-ins formerly known as "black-bag jobs."

It's good to know that the spooks are coming up with new terms for those constantly unpopular activities, after their long linguistic freeze: the once-secret language of secrecy has become too widely known. To qualify as argot, a lingo must retain its sense of mystery — once in print, an argot is no-go.

Take "mole," which professional spies and readers of spy thrillers know means "an agent clandestinely placed within another power's intelligence agency." That word, insists former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms, was never used by the professionals — their term for that dread activity was "penetration." But today, as life follows art, CIA men have adopted "mole," and intelligence historian Walter Pforzheimer even found a 1622 citation in Francis Bacon's history of King Henry VII: "Hee was careful and libell to obtayne good intelligence from all parts abroad. He had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him."

The language of classification is argot. The three main categories — "Top Secret," "Secret" and "Confidential" — are well known. ("Administratively Confidential," used often in the White House and the departments, is not a security classification, merely a way of stamping a document with "C'mon, you guys, let's not leak this until next week; it could embarrass us in New Hampshire.")

Along with each classification goes a distribution signal. Readers with security clearances (a "Q" clearance, the status symbol of a generation ago, applies to atomic secrets and is no longer anything to brag about) may see "LIMDIS," "EXDIS," or even "NODIS" atop a message. LIMDIS — limited distribution — means, "Hold this to about 50 people; we don't want it out right away." EXDIS adds a green cover sheet and makes the distribution "exclusive" to a dozen or so officials. NODIS comes closest to the factious "Burn Before Reading" and is sometimes hyped with "Eyes Only." (Arnold Weber, a former budget official, who wanted his directives carefully chewed over during the era of price controls, stamped his memos, "Teeth Only.")

Other distribution designations you are likely to see if a classified document is leaked are "NOFORN," which is not a moral stricture but stands for "No Foreign Dissemination," a xenophobic "Americans Only," and "NOCONTRACT," which means, "Keep this inside the Defense Department and don't let those contractors working

on the Norden bombight onto it."

To answer the question "How do we know this — did we read it in the paper, or what?" spookspeak includes another acronym to identify the type of source. The much-used "ELINT," which I once noticed referred to the bits of fluff thread on the blue serge suits of discover agents, turns out to be "electronic intelligence" or "electronic intercept" — stuff from and the like — not to be confused with "COMINT," or "communications intelligence," from black mouthed satellites or radios, but by "big ears." "WNINTEL," means "Warning: Intelligence neither of the above, and given inconspicuously the impression of being a useful self-criticism of product."

Because such terminology has been around so long, and is so known to foreign intelligence agencies, no thrill of leakage attacks discussing it here. Specific "chests" of distribution do not national security, and current names deserve continued privacy.

In his 1973 book "The Politics of Lying," reporter David Whitehead wrote what happened when a name slipped into a newspaper published in The New York Magazine in the mid-1960s. The picture showed McGee as a then national security adviser conferring with President John F. Kennedy in the White House.

In Bundy's hand was a classified document headed "SECRET DINAIR" — "DINAIR" was a closely guarded code word. After dropping the Times to pick up the Washington Post, which the CIA had handed over, CIA men were \$250,000 retrieving all about DINAIR around the world and restamping them "UMBRA."

Code names can also contribute to confusion. I was present at a session between Henry Kissinger and Defense Secretary Laird in 1970 as they argued over "toxic" later turned out one man was arguing about ending our capacity, germ warfare while the other thought he meant "Operation I SIN," a wholly unrelated battle.

It is not always a good idea to write a Vietnam cease-fire up for President Nixon. I was given point sheet. It seems to be in the hands of the CIA, which page carefully handled with a lot of secret designations. In my draft, I gaily fastened the page with a collection of labels, showed just how hush-hush our portmanteau work could be: "SECRET SENSITIVE NOFORN EYES ONLY."

A couple of days later, Bob Haldeman let me see his speech draft back, because I quired more work. The staff shook his head: "Sorry, I can't take it back — you're not clear TOP SECRET SENSITIVE NOFORN EYES ONLY."

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## . . . And Kissinger's Views

Joseph Fitchett

PARIS — In conversation, Henry Kissinger has started posing questions about the agenda the West should adopt to administer a lasting lesson to the Soviet leadership.

Kissinger's listeners these days include West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who are having a three-day summit meeting to achieve a European response to President Carter's call-to-arms.

At moments, Kissinger appears to share the widespread European view that President Carter's erratic Soviet policies damaged détente and contributed to the present crisis. But the former secretary of state insists that a new foreign policy consensus has now emerged in the United States and that Europeans have too much geopolitical sense to ignore it.

Confident that the outlook for U.S.-European solidarity is incomparably better now than it was in 1974, when the Arab oil embargo cut deep strains between the allies, Kissinger thinks that European countries should play an active role in helping formulate a coherent, sustainable Western policy. "A European intellectual contribution to answering the key questions — what kind of world are we trying to bring about and what means are we ready to use in pursuit of it? — would be almost as valuable as material help," he says.

After warning about Soviet expansionism for five years since the appearance of Cuban troops in Angola, Kissinger broadly supports the tough U.S. policy. But he stresses that this is a moment for searching questions. Only when we have agreed on answers should Western prestige be committed to a monumental trial of political will and staying power.

"The emerging U.S. mood is to put the Soviets on notice that whenever they move again, they will encounter some form of U.S. and preferably Western resistance," he said the other day, adding: "We are at the beginning of a policy-formulation process that will commit us to a military and political effort extending over many years."

Kissinger worries that the democracies will embark too hastily on a new strategy which they may not be able to sustain, exposing themselves to a backlash in public opinion later that could force a humiliating Western disengagement.

To avoid this, he stresses that the Atlantic Alliance must in advance match its capabilities to its commitments.

It is the Kissinger lesson of Viet-

nam. "Another collapse of political will would be a disaster for us. It would be dangerous for our friends because it would expose them to Soviet pressure. It would be dangerous for the Soviet Union, because if expansionism continues, ultimately we will resist — and then it may be too late," he says.

Kissinger divides the West's agenda into three major tasks: • New military commitments and political relations with Pakistan and India, the Gulf and China.

• Discussions between the United States and its European allies about these commitments: What is the threat? What is the area the West is defending? What lengths are we ready to go to?

• A new Western dialogue with the nonaligned world to capitalize on growing disillusion with Soviet behavior in many developing countries.

There is no need for European governments to give the United States a blank check or to imitate U.S. measures blindly. Once a common assessment is reached of the danger, there can be a recognition that each nation has a specific role to play.

But Kissinger sets two conditions for a successful joint Western response. First, there can be a division of labor among the allies, but not a division of détente. Different countries can negotiate with the Russians on different points, he says, but it would be dangerous for Europe to have the monopoly on negotiating and the United States the monopoly on arming. For Europe to have a monopoly of détente and the United States a monopoly of defense.

Although European governments' contacts with Moscow can serve to help keep open an intense line of communication between superpowers, Europe would jeopardize its own security trying to play a broker role.

Diversity, however, remains Western asset. For instance, it is timely beneficial to the Atlantic Alliance for Paris to avoid the appearance of knocking out U.S. pressure; instead, by having parallel policy to Washington, French government reassures strong and can play special diplomatic role, for instance in influencing countries like Algeria and Syria, Kissinger. Similarly, Bonn can reinforce military potential, but it should protect as much as it can of its relations with East Germany.

Second, the allies must understand among themselves what role each is supposed to play and what share of the burden it is supposed to bear. Yardsticks will be needed, thus, the Franco-German summit bringing together the men who met in Giscard's eventful year ago.

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## orst Toll Since Civil War

### Security Heavy in Bilbao After 10 Deaths in 2 Days

From Agency Dispatches

BARCELONA, Spain, Feb. 3 — Police reinforcements with armored cars ordered out in northern Spain the weekend as the worst security-related violence since the war took 10 lives in 36 hours.

After the killing of six paramilitary Civil Guards east of Bilbao, the government named Jose Saez de Santamaría as chief of security forces in the area and said that two crack terrorist units would be sent to deal with what rightist newspapers said was a state of war there.

Police set up checkpoints on the highway leading to Bilbao and in the city. Armed cars appeared in the streets. There have never been so many armed cars in Bilbao since the war, said a Bilbao resident after seeing through six checkpoints on a 10-mile drive into town.

**Elections Due**  
Basque politicians expressed fear that the violence was due to force a state of emergency in the Basque country and torpedo elections to a Basque parliament scheduled for March 9.

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### Cossiga Government Wins Tough Anti-Terrorism Bill

ROME, Feb. 3 (AP) — Premier Indro Montanaro's minority Christian Democratic government yesterday won a parliamentary vote of 322 to 210 to pass a strong anti-terrorism bill. The bill, which would give the government the power to detain suspects without trial for up to 30 days, was passed by a narrow margin after a long and heated debate in the Italian parliament.

**Rare Show of Unity**  
A rare show of unity, Italy's largest parties — the Christian Democrats, Communists and Socialists — cast affirmative votes on those voting "no" were the only ones who had put forward amendments saying that the new law would curb civil liberties. The Senate has already approved it and with yesterday's vote it becomes law. The Chamber's approval vote for the Cossiga government, both the Communists and Socialists had made clear the debate that their affirmations should not be considered a vote of confidence in the government. The Chamber's approval vote for the Cossiga government, both the Communists and Socialists had made clear the debate that their affirmations should not be considered a vote of confidence in the government.

new legislation gives police power to hold terrorist suspects for hours for questioning without lawyers and, in the pursuit of terrorism, to search homes and buildings if necessary.

While providing for mandatory life terms (the death penalty is outlawed in Italy) the law also provides reduced sentences for terrorists who cooperate with police.

It also requires banks to identify all persons who make deposits or withdrawals of more than 20 million lire (about \$2,000) — a move aimed at ransom money in cases of kidnapping.

Yesterday's vote was taken under rules that allowed the government to break a parliamentary stalemate — in this instance caused by the filibustering of Radicals — by asking for a vote of confidence on the bill as a whole, without consideration of amendments.

landia Gonzalez, 19, shot in the head and dumped beside a road near Madrid, of supplying Basque separatist guerrillas with information. The sender said they would kill two other students who they said worked with her.

**Second Body Found**

The organization alleged in a call to a Basque newspaper that Jesus Maria Zubizarra, shot to death near his hometown of Aguinaga, was a militant of ETA, the Basque separatist movement. Mr. Zubizarra had been jailed during a state of emergency five years ago for alleged ETA activities that he denied.

Police meanwhile found the body of a 26-year-old ETA guerrilla wounded in the ambush of the Civil Guards Friday. They said that Javier Gorrichategui Agote, the second guerrilla to die of wounds suffered in the ambush, had been left at the gate of a cemetery near his hometown of Elbar. Beside the body, which was wrapped in a Basque flag, was a note saying: "Xabier Agote. Of Elbar. A soldier of ETA."

A four-man commando, meanwhile, kidnapped the manager of a factory near Vitoria in the Basque province of Alava and forced him to give them access to special batteries, destined for a controversial nuclear power plant at Lemona near Bilbao. While one of the guerrillas held the wife and children of Ricardo Mendizabal at gunpoint, three others destroyed the equipment with a time bomb that exploded early today.

The Lemona site was bombed by ETA two years ago. Two workers were killed and the completion date for the plant was set forward to 1981.

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Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands and husband, Prince Claus.

### 3d Queen in Row

#### Beatrix to Keep Tradition Of Royal Dutch Matriarchy

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 (NYT) — Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands, whose mother, Queen Juliana, has announced her intention to abdicate in April, will be the third queen in a row to rule the Netherlands.

Since the death of Princess Beatrix's great-grandfather, William III, in 1890, the Dutch throne has been held by women. Queen Emma, his widow, was regent until 1898, when his daughter, Wilhelmina, turned 18 and took the constitutional oath that stands in place of a coronation in the Netherlands.

Wilhelmina abdicated in favor of her daughter, Juliana, in 1948 after 50 years on the throne. Last Thursday, Queen Juliana announced her own abdication in favor of her eldest daughter, making the announcement on Princess Beatrix's 42d birthday. She will ascend the throne on April 30.

The royal matriarchy will be broken after Princess Beatrix since she and her husband, Prince Claus, have three sons, the eldest of whom, Prince Willem-Alexander, is heir to the throne.

#### German Husband

Like her mother and grandmother, Princess Beatrix, princess of the Netherlands, princess of Orange-Nassau, princess of Lippe-Biesterfeld, is married to a German, Prince Claus Georg Willem Otto Frederik Geert, 53. Prince Claus, unlike his father-in-law, Prince Bernhard, speaks unaccented Dutch and is reserved and soft-spoken.

Princess Beatrix, as the first child, has been her presumptive since her birth at Soestdijk Palace in Baarn, about 25 miles outside Amsterdam, on Jan. 31, 1938. With the outbreak of World War II, the royal family went into exile. In May, 1940, they went to Britain and Canada.

The family returned to the Netherlands in 1947.

#### Obituaries

### Biochemist William Stein, U.S. Nobel Prize Laureate

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 (AP) — Dr. William H. Stein, 68, winner of a Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1972 and professor of biochemistry at Rockefeller University, died yesterday at his Manhattan home.

Dr. Stein had been confined to a wheelchair since 1969 with Gilaire-Barre disease, a degenerative nerve disorder. The exact cause of death was not announced.

Dr. Stein, working with colleague Dr. Stanford Moore, was a pioneer in the field of molecular biology. The two were the first to work out the chemical structure of an enzyme.

Born on June 25, 1911, in New York City, Dr. Stein attended Phillips Exeter Academy in Massachusetts and was graduated from Harvard in 1933. In 1938, he received a doctorate from Columbia University and joined Rockefeller University the same year.

### Ex-Minister Dies In France After Sidewalk Attack

PARIS, Feb. 3 (AP) — Former French Cabinet minister Joseph Fontanet died yesterday in a Paris hospital after being shot Friday on a sidewalk outside his home. Six organizations have claimed responsibility for the attack, but police dismissed the claims and said they know of no motive for the shooting.

Mr. Fontanet, 58, a Christian Democratic centrist who supported the late President Charles de Gaulle, was successively health, labor and education minister under de Gaulle and the late President Georges Pompidou.

The groups claiming responsibility for the shooting included the anarchist Autonomous Revolutionary Brigades, which last year organized the sacking of a row of shops in central Paris. The group claimed Friday that Mr. Fontanet was shot in error during an attempt to kidnap him to force the release of two members jailed after the attack on the shops.

Netherlands at the end of the war. Princess Beatrix and her three sisters were given an upbringing as nearly ordinary as their parents could contrive. She was enrolled in a progressive elementary school and then the Baarn grammar school.

Her schoolmates included a baker's daughter and a postman's son, and she learned to scrub floors and grow vegetables in the school garden.

Like other Dutch children, the young princess rode a bicycle through the streets of Amsterdam. And she was not above mischief-making, including running away from school and once being arrested with her sister when she was 10 for stealing grapes from a produce cart.

#### Weekly Allowance

Her allowance, reportedly, was \$150 a week until her 18th birthday in January, 1956, when she became a member of the Council of State and began drawing an income of \$80,000 annually.

In September, 1956, she entered the University of Leyden, where her studies included sociology, parliamentary history and law. She earned a doctorate of law in 1961. As a university student, the princess lived in a private home without servants and did her own cooking on occasion.

But even in the Netherlands royal informality has its limits. A relationship with a fellow student who was a penniless commoner ended under pressure from her parents, and Princess Beatrix went abroad.

The question of marriage was unavoidable for the princess, destined to be one of the world's wealthiest women. Speculation about her romances, which included every man she danced with or sat next to at dinner, ended in 1965, when Queen Juliana announced her daughter's engagement to Claus von Amsberg.

#### Engagement Furore

The German diplomat had been in the Hitler Youth and the German Army during World War II, in which more than 250,000 Dutch people were killed, but he was, as the Netherlands Information Service's biographical material points out, cleared by an Allied denazification court.

The engagement, nonetheless, stirred a furor, and for awhile it was not certain whether the Cabinet would give the approval required by law. But the couple were married in Amsterdam in March, 1966, by which time Prince Claus had acquired Dutch nationality. On his marriage he became prince of the Netherlands. The hostility to him appeared to have largely evaporated with the birth of Prince Willem-Alexander in April, 1967. The other sons are John-Frederik, born in 1968, and Constantijn, born in 1969.

Blood, blue-eyed and dimpled, Beatrix inherited her mother's tendency to stockiness and, it is said, a greater preoccupation with protocol than her mother's. She is sports-minded and is a rider, skier, tennis player and sailor.

In a 1975 interview she made explicit her basic seriousness: "My mother taught me that being queen is a position that you carry around with you day and night. You can never forget about it, not for one moment."

### Dutch Bishops Back Synod On Adherence to Tradition

THE HAGUE, Feb. 3 (Reuters) — Seven Dutch bishops told their Roman Catholic dioceses today that some of the pope's directives to them at the end of a special 15-day synod Thursday might be difficult to understand.

The synod, convened in Rome by Pope John Paul II to rein in some innovations and try to heal a rift between conservative and progressive bishops in the Netherlands, wound up with a papal appeal to Dutch Catholics to adhere to traditional doctrine.

The final document ordered termination or slowing down of progressive experiments launched in the Netherlands in the last 15 years. It ruled out marriage for priests, and called for sharper delineation of priestly and lay functions and a return to traditional seminary training.

#### 'Difficult' Instructions

The bishops said in a joint pastoral letter to be read in all the country's Catholic churches today: "We realize that some of the decisions taken may be difficult to understand, but we urge priests, full-time church workers and laymen to implement them loyally."

The bishops said they and the pope had been concerned about developments in the Dutch church for years, particularly about a lack of agreement among the bishops themselves and with priests and the faithful.

## UN Council Calls on Britain to Play Fair in Rhodesia

By Bernard D. Nossiter

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Feb. 3 (NYT) — Pressed by African nations, the Security Council yesterday called on Britain to halt practices allegedly favoring Bishop Abel Muzorewa and discriminating against the Patriotic Front guerrilla organization in the Rhodesian elections.

The vote insisting that Britain ensure fair play in the elections, scheduled for Feb. 27-29, was 14 to 0. Britain, which earlier had threatened to veto a harsher resolution by African states led by Tanzania and Zambia, declined to participate.

Sir Anthony Parsons, the British delegate, declared that his country was bound only by the agreement reached among the contending Rhodesian political forces in London in December and said that "we will acknowledge no other text." He dismissed yesterday's resolution as "unbalanced and selective."

The U.S. representative, Donald McHenry, played a central part in negotiating the compromise version of the resolution adopted by the council, and the United States voted for it.

#### Britain Accused

There were three days of debate in which Britain was accused of having permitted South African troops to remain in Rhodesia, of impeding the return of refugees from neighboring African nations, of holding political prisoners and of allowing Rhodesian forces and armed auxiliaries black militiamen — loyal to Bishop Muzorewa — to roam freely through the country. The small South African force was reported to have been withdrawn on Thursday.

Sir Anthony dismissed charges that his government had favored any of the parties and defended Britain's difficult role in policing the month-old cease-fire in the seven-year guerrilla war.

The elections for a black majority rule government are the result of the Lancaster House agreement between Bishop Muzorewa and the two wings of the Patriotic Front. The bishop was Rhodesia's first black prime minister but he was elected under an arrangement with white leader Ian Smith. Britain is administering Rhodesia until after the new vote is held.

#### Strong Attack

In the Security Council, the strongest attack on Britain came from Tlrfavi Kangai, a spokesman for Robert Mugabe, the Marxist leader of one wing of the Patriotic Front, who is opposing Bishop Muzorewa and Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Front's other wing, in the elections.

Mr. Kangai charged that "the British government has left no stone unturned in its efforts to please, favor and bolster the Smith-Muzorewa clique." He said that "at least 6,000 South African troops" were in Rhodesia to further the cause of the bishop and the white community. British spokesmen in Rhodesia have denied that any South African units remain in the country, although they acknowledge that individual South Africans are serving in the Rhodesian Army.

Mr. Kangai warned that unless Britain acted on the complaints, the guerrillas would refuse to recognize the election's outcome and would resume the war.

#### New Fighting Feared

British diplomats fear that, if Mr. Mugabe's forces lose the election, the council resolution could be used as a justification for renewed fighting. However, Rhodesia's black African neighbors, who provided the guerrillas with the bases from which they operated, insist that their move at the United Nations was designed to head off such a possibility.

For Britain, Sir Anthony agreed that the "reparation of refugees had not gone as smoothly as we would have hoped" but said that they could not be returned "faster than they can be absorbed."

He denied that there were any political prisoners left in Rhodesia and said that the Rhodesian forces and Bishop Muzorewa's auxiliaries — thought to number 15,000 — were helping the police to maintain order.

There had been breaches of the

cease-fire, Sir Anthony said, but 85 percent, he contended, had involved Mr. Mugabe's forces. This, he said, was the conclusion reached by a commission that included representatives of the Patriotic Front.

#### Nkomo Warns His Forces

SALISBURY, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Joshua Nkomo today ordered his forces still in the field in violation of the cease-fire to report immediately to the guerrilla assembly camps, of which there are 14 around Rhodesia.

#### Aid Estimated at \$100 Million

### Zambia Said to Buy Soviet MiGs, Arms

LUSAKA, Zambia, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Zambia has concluded an agreement to buy more than \$100 million worth of fighter planes and other weapons from the Soviet Union, Western diplomats said today.

The package includes at least a dozen MiG-21 fighters and a wide range of conventional arms for Zambia's 12,000-member army.

More than 200 air force pilots and ground staff are training on the MiG-21s in the Soviet Union and the planes are expected to be delivered in the middle of the year, the diplomats said.

The new squadron will bring the combat strength of the Zambian Air Force to more than 50 planes, including 12 Chinese MiG-19s, making it one of the most powerful in sub-Saharan Africa. The diplomats said the MiG-21s were superior to anything flown by the Rhodesian Air Force and a match for the sophisticated Mirage fighters that are the backbone of South Africa's air defense system.

The strikes have stopped since the signing of the Rhodesian cease-fire agreement in December, but the diplomats said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda wanted to avoid future humiliation by Rhodesia or South Africa.

The Zambian government has given no details of the arms deal, but the diplomats said the Soviet Union had demanded an advance payment with the balance to be paid over seven years at commercial interest rates.

#### Officials Foresee Widespread Famine

### Food Shortages Spread in North Uganda

By Bob Dietz

APOKA, Uganda, Feb. 3 (AP) — Drought, the disruptions of war, cattle disease and lawlessness are combining to spread food shortages across large parts of northern Uganda, endangering hundreds of thousands of lives.

Doctors and government officials report an increase in cases of children suffering from malnutrition and say that food aid soon will be necessary. Some deaths already have been reported in the northeast Karamoja cattle region where a lack of rain has worsened and normally semi-arid conditions. Travelers describe an increase in cattle rustling by gangs using weapons left behind nine months ago when the soldiers of Idi Amin, the deposed leader, retreated before the Tanzanian Army. Residents say that pipes have been ripped out of some wells to make improvised guns.

#### Planting Disrupted

In Apoka, a village near Lira — a district center 225 kilometers north of Kampala — farmers doubt that the 1979 sorghum and millet harvest will see them past the middle of this month. "People are really going to start suffering within the next month," said Savage Ocan, an agriculture teacher who has traveled throughout the Lira area. "And this year's grain harvest won't come in for another five or six months, depending on the timing and extent of the rains."

The planting last year was disrupted by the war. Communities around Lira received another blow recently when rinderpest killed large numbers of cattle. "We are going to need food assistance soon, especially foods with high nutritional value," said district Commissioner Odoki Opoku.

For Britain, Sir Anthony agreed that the "reparation of refugees had not gone as smoothly as we would have hoped" but said that they could not be returned "faster than they can be absorbed."

He denied that there were any political prisoners left in Rhodesia and said that the Rhodesian forces and Bishop Muzorewa's auxiliaries — thought to number 15,000 — were helping the police to maintain order.

#### 2 Gunmen Kill Man In Northern Ireland

BELFAST, Feb. 3 (UPI) — Two masked gunmen jumped out of an alleyway and shot to death a 40-year-old man in Belfast late yesterday but his companion escaped unhurt, police said.

Meanwhile a part-time soldier, a member of the volunteer Ulster Defense Regiment, which helps the British Army, was shot several times as he was turning his car into the driveway of his home near Lisnaskea in rural Ulster. He was reported in a serious condition.

In radio announcements read by a top military commander, Mr. Nkomo said: "Should you fail to comply with this final order, drastic action will be taken against you."

No similar appeals were being broadcast by Mr. Mugabe. He was said to have told the British governor, Lord Soames, that he would not participate unless the governor confined Rhodesian security forces to their barracks.

It appeared that the British, who have applauded Mr. Nkomo's forces for obeying the cease-fire while castigating Mr. Mugabe's,

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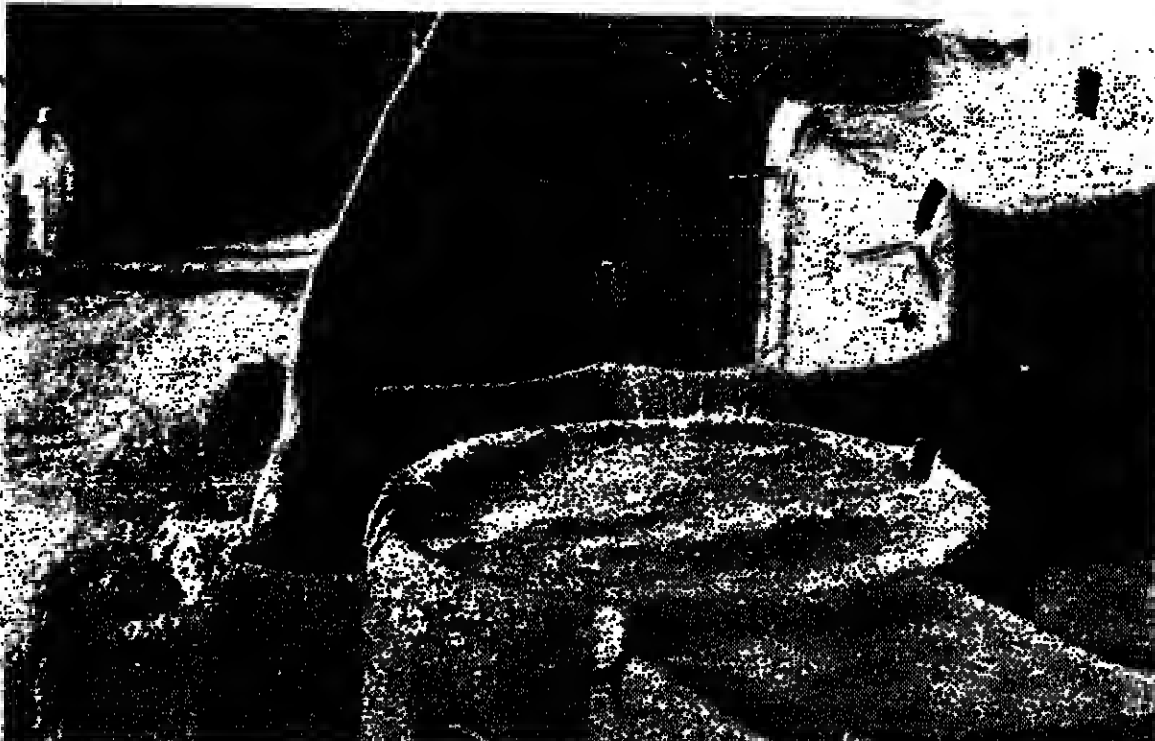
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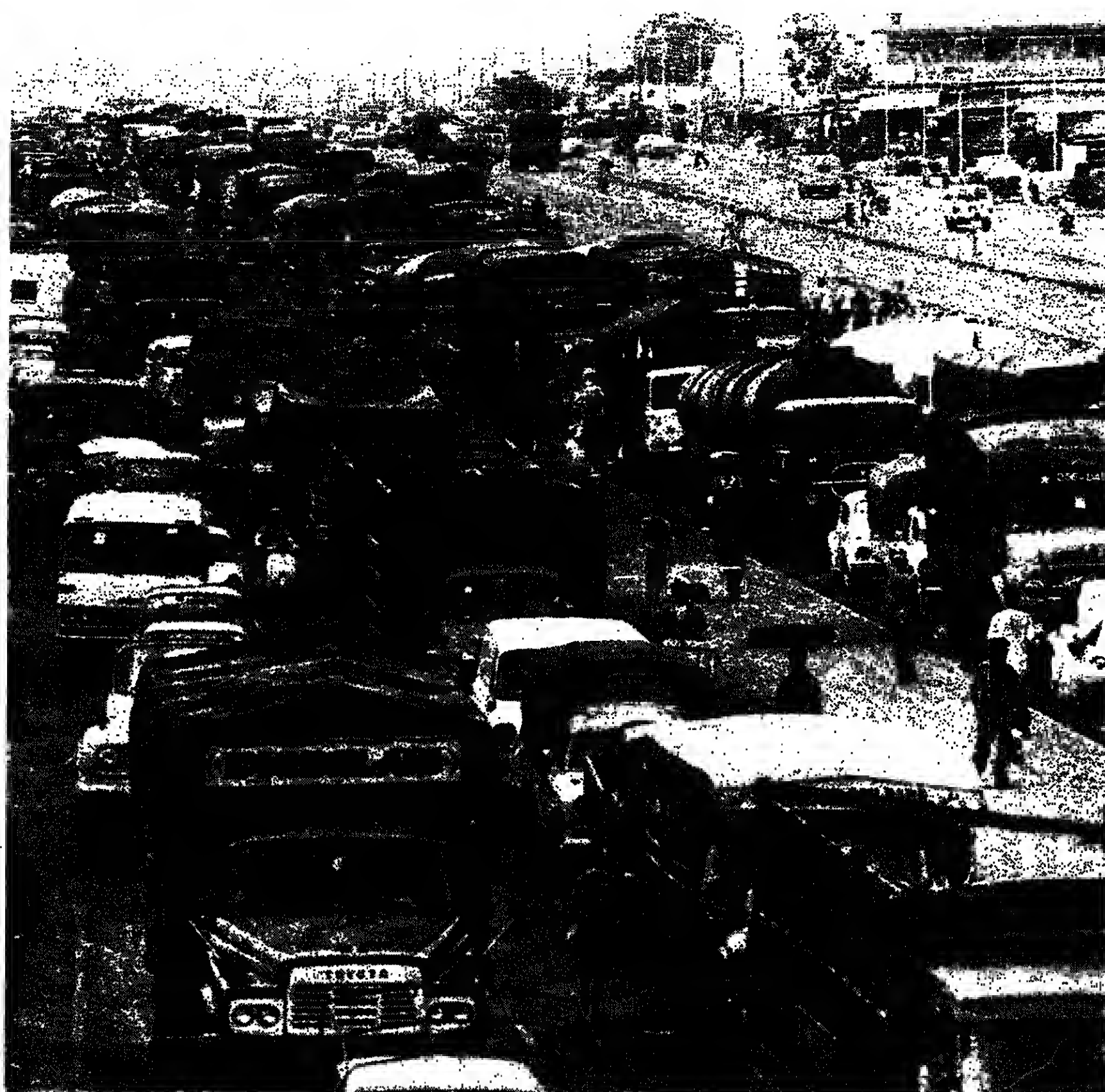








Moslem village in arid, Hausa-speaking northern part of the country.



Traffic grinds to a halt in the bustling capital city of Lagos.

## INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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PARIS, FEBRUARY, 1980

# Nigeria



## Return to Democracy Starts on Uneasy Ground

LAGOS (IHT) — Nigeria, with newly restored democracy and mounting oil revenues from an output of 2.2 million barrels a day, is trying to achieve the prosperous harmony that was predicted for it when it was granted Africa's most populous nation independence 20 years ago. It is possible, according to economists, diplomats and political analysts, it will not be easy.

Nigerians, thought to number more than 80 million, are divided into 200 ethnic groups across 372,000 square miles, an area larger than Britain, France, Portugal and the Netherlands combined.

When Nigeria was drawn at right angles on a map in Europe a century ago, no thought was given to ethnic boundaries. It was created after the British and French had fought a war over the swampy village called Lagos in its own right. A colonial administrator described the new colony as a series of disconnected and reluctant concessions to circumstances which government could not ignore but was unable to meet in any other way.

Today, three main tribes dominate Nigeria. In the west, the Yorubas, a mix of animists, Christians and Moslems with a structured class system,

**With all of the difficulties, Nigeria's leaders are optimistic that they can establish the sort of stability needed to ensure that the benefits of the oil wealth will be felt throughout the society.**

number about 15 million. The Hausa-speaking peoples of the north, mostly Moslems, are thought to number about 20 million. And there are perhaps 12 million Ibos in the eastern states.

More than a dozen other groups exceed a million, and a score, 100,000, scattered from the thick tropical forests of the coast to the 5,000-foot-high Benue Plateau at country's center.

For the visitor, this richness of culture — where the primitive world clashes with the modern — comes through in colorful brocade robes, side-splitting theater, princely polo matches, flamboyant art, camel caravans and boisterous night clubs. The capital, Lagos, is a humid bubbling of sounds, sights and smells and is perhaps the most congested city in the world. Traffic jams can last all day.

It was just this diversity combined with huge economic disparities that nearly destroyed Nigeria as a single nation. Political rivalry between the major tribes bred animosity that plunged the country for 2½ years into civil conflict — the Biafran war — which ended just over a decade ago.

It is estimated that as many as 2 million persons lost their lives during the war, many of them children who starved in the secessionist state of Biafra because of federal blockades and corruption within Biafra itself.

The war not only shattered the economy, curtailed oil production and drained resources, but it also left social and political scars which have not yet healed.

Last year, military rulers supervised elections and a transition modeled largely on the bicameral system of the United States. A civilian president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 55, took office Oct. 1, on the same day that Britain freed the colony in 1960.

Stabilizing the new government will require delicacy as President Shagari explained to a reporter last month: "We are practicing a new system of

government for the first time in our history. It requires persuasion rather than coercion."

The problems, analysts note, is that coercion has long been part of persuasion in Nigeria. Already President Shagari has had to invent against overbearing, virtual one-party regimes in some of the 19 states.

Old conflicts survive. His main rival, 70-year-old Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has challenged the president's right to rule in a manner President Shagari calls "unsportsmanlike." Discontent has shaken Chief Awolowo's Yoruba power base. And some Ibos are upset that military authorities refused to accept the candidacy for legislature of Odumegwu Ojukwu, the former secessionist leader now living in the Ivory Coast.

The last civilian government collapsed in 1966, after it stubbornly refused to make the kind of compromises upon which the system was based. The government came to an end in a bloody military coup that resulted in the murders of the prime minister, Tafawa Balewa, the premier of Northern Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello and a large number of top military men.

Neither colonial governors nor federal authorities have been able to deal satisfactorily with the regional differences, and the persistent demands for strong local government.

Nigeria's early development created uneven divisions. The Ibos, for example, rose quickly under the British because they had almost no tribal hierarchy. They were also one of the first tribes to come under the influence of Christian missionaries and the education they brought with them. At independence, Ibos predominated in the civil service and in business.

The estimated \$20 billion that will pour into the country next year from oil revenues may widen the gaping disparities. Little of the oil money has yet filtered down to the population. In remote areas some tribesmen dress in leaves and carry primitively fashioned bows for hunting. In Lagos, there

are multimillionaires who negotiate the snarled traffic in air-conditioned town cars and fly off regularly to London apartments. Although no one knows what the population of Nigeria actually is, best estimates place the per capita income at about \$700 a year.

The difficulties faced by those in government were illustrated when former military leader Yakubu Gowon provided brassieres for women in hilly country in the plateau region. The 26,000 bras were delivered, but government officials failed to demonstrate their use. When they returned some months later, the brassieres were being used to haul water and as hats.

In dealing with the enormous problem of education the government has committed itself several times to providing mandatory primary schooling. While illiteracy is widespread in tribal languages as well as English, millions in the north who have undergone religious training read and write Arabic. An ambitious education plan is hampered by the same lack of manpower which affects other fields.

Tropical diseases and malnutrition are serious problems, although dis-

(Continued on page 155, col. 1)

## Shagari Defines Political Goals

Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected president of Nigeria after 13 years of military rule. On the occasion of his 100 days in office, the president, interviewed by Errol G. Romo of the International Herald Tribune, assesses the political course he plans to take in the coming year.

T — Your party is a minority in the National Assembly. Are you

confident that the alliances it has now made will ensure that your measures will be passed?

Shagari — My party, the National Party of Nigeria, has the largest number of seats in the Senate, the National Assembly and the State Assemblies. It is the largest single party at each of state and federal levels of government. In the presidential system of government, there are three distinct branches, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.

Your question relates to the legislative branch. Within this branch, my party is certainly the largest single block, given our multiparty system, under which four other parties competed with mine for the people's electoral mandate.

We have won more seats at both levels of the legislature than any other single party in Nigeria. However, we have been able to reach an understanding with other parties, particularly the Nigerian People's Party, the People's Redemption Party, and to a degree with the Great Nigerian People's Party, with all of whom we share to a degree an identity of interests and objectives.

On the principle of one nation, one destiny, and based on our identity of goals and objectives, I believe that this accord will ensure the broadest fulfillment of the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians who have given us the mandate and responsibility to lead this nation for the next four years.

Q — Is it you yourself, or your party and its allies, who put up names for ministers and other important appointments?

A — The constitution gives me the responsibility to appoint my own ministers, advisers, permanent secretaries, ambassadors and other categories of incumbents of high federal offices. However, in exercising this responsibility, and subject to the stipulations of the constitution, which require that such appointments reflect the federal character of Nigeria, it is only natural that I have the benefit of advice

(Continued on page 118, col. 1)

## Oil Revenues Expected to Soar

By Martin Quinlan

LAGOS (IHT) — This year will be Nigeria's biggest boom year yet. Oil revenues accruing to the government were forecast, even before the December OPEC meeting, to top \$20 billion.

Although there are predictions that some of the heat might be taken out of world oil markets this spring by a temporary surplus of crude, average realized prices for the year are certain to be up. Government receipts from oil could therefore be at least one-third and perhaps 50 percent up on last year — when they were in turn up by more than 50 percent from the 1978 figure.

Nigeria's recent oil prosperity, however, is not directly of its own making. Prior to the Iranian revolution, the military government was clipping expenditure in response to the low rate of production, forced on Nigeria by a world oil surplus and by sharper marketing tactics by Libya and Algeria.

There was talk of belt-tightening for several years. But when nearly 6 million barrels a day of Iranian oil were lost to world markets early last year, Nigeria was well placed to meet part of the shortage. Nigerian output, previously never having exceeded 2.2 million barrels a day, was raised to more than 2.4 million barrels a day throughout the first half of last year.

### High Rates

By mid-year, two factors were militating in favor of a cut in production from these high rates.

The first was technical. High output had been achieved, in some cases, by delaying work-overs and other routine maintenance. No great harm had been done but it was becoming difficult to keep up the flow from a number of fields.

The second was the government's realization that oil revenues were grossly exceeding budgeted levels. The state sales price for Bonny Light had been raised to \$14.82 as from Jan. 1, last year, under the first increment of OPEC's phased rise which was to have increased the price to about \$16.50 by year-end.

But, as markets moved almost out of control following the Iranian troubles the official price jumped to \$18.52, effective April 1, to \$20.96 in May, to \$23.49 in July, to \$26.26 in November and then to \$29.99 in mid-December.

Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo's military government, preparing to hand over to civilian rule, responded by imposing a production ceiling of 2.2 million barrels a day as from August. Production in fact amounted to 2.19 million barrels a day in that month and 2.15 million barrels a day in September. (In October it declined slightly to 2.14 million barrels a day).

The result was to keep Nigerian crude in keen demand, particularly with U.S. buyers who took 47 percent of Nigeria's production in the third quarter of 1979. The 1.04 million barrels a day which went to the United States in that quarter amounted to 15 percent of U.S. imports.

Although some difficulties were experienced in producing 2.4 million barrels a day after six months, oil men in the past have expressed the view that Nigeria's potential is higher.

It is a characteristic of the Niger delta, the low-lying hot and humid area in which the country's most productive fields are located, that oil is found in relatively small reservoirs. In contrast to fields in the Middle East, which are large enough to flow steadily for many years, Nigerian oil fields tend to have a fairly short productive life individually, and a con-

tinual program of exploration is necessary to safeguard future output. This makes estimates of reserves and production for Nigeria less reliable than for other OPEC states.

Reserves in proven fields are generally estimated at about 18 billion barrels — a figure which indicates a life of 20 years or so at present output rates — while maximum production capacity, after a suitable buildup period, could be as high as 3 million barrels a day. But these figures do not take account of the very large areas which have yet to be explored, and which are only now being offered to the oil companies.

The offer of the new acreage — in offshore waters and in the Anambra, Benue, Bida, Sokoto and Chad basins onshore — also marks a departure in the terms on which foreign companies operate in Nigeria. Hitherto this had been on the basis of state participation, the level of which was increased from 55 to 60 percent as from August last year.

The state's Nigerian National Petroleum Corp. took a holding to this extent in each of the oil-producing groups but operated in many respects as a "sleeping" partner. It met its share of cash calls and took its share of oil, but generally left the running of the business to its foreign partners.

### Positive Role

Under its new terms, NNPC plans to play a more positive role in the development of Nigerian oil resources. Contracts awarded so far all stipulate production-sharing terms, with the foreign company carrying all exploration costs in return for 50 percent of output from successful finds. NNPC will take the remainder, with no financial stake to lose if no finds are made. But development contracts are also

(Continued on page 155, col. 1)

## Huge Economy Begins to Stir

By Alan Rake

LAGOS (IHT) — Nigeria's economy has taken a new turn with the shift in government and new appeal to foreign investors. Although the country remains dangerously dependent on oil exports both for external earnings and for government revenues, prospects for the economy in general have seldom looked better.

When President Alhaji Shehu Shagari took over he inherited an economy that was expanding and yet well under control. It was leaner and fitter than it had been in the boom years of 1974. Eighteen months of squeeze by the military had cured the major problems of inflation, congestion and runaway imports.

The inflation rate had been slashed. Congestion, which was once the byword for Nigeria's ports and airports, had eased. The waiting time for ships outside Lagos harbor — at one time so chronic that cement shipments were hardening in holds — was reduced and the brand new port at Tin Can Island found that it did not have enough work to do. Just after the war, in 1970, the congestion was so bad that the general assigned to clear the Appa Port in Lagos ordered huge stocks of unclaimed goods dumped into the water. He personally flogged gold-bricking workers.

Toward the end of its term of office the military government had actually directed companies relying on air freight to send many of their goods by sea and proceeded to list a number of categories, including spare parts for the French motor manufacturer Peugeot, where this was obligatory.

The military government had also curbed Nigeria's import mania, which had overspent the burgeoning oil wealth almost before it was earned. The military had banned certain categories of imports altogether and imposed complicated preshipment inspection and a bureaucratic system of forms, which reduced the flow of imports in the early months of last year.

While imports were falling oil ex-

ports were beginning to take off. Nigeria's oil production which had been cut back in the recessionary days of 1978, spurred last year to a peak of 2.5 million barrels a day. Although this level was not held for the whole year, the average was well above 2.2 million barrels a day. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corp. was able to deliberately reduce production and conserve reserves, relying entirely on increasing prices to boost revenue.

With production running at an average of 2.2 million barrels a day and benefiting by the successive OPEC price increases, revenue for last year should reach at least \$20 billion, higher than forecast by the outgoing military government and nearly three times higher than the level achieved in 1978. Since December's OPEC meeting Nigeria is reported to have raised the price of its standard crude to \$35 a barrel, one of the highest rates in the world. This will affect prices in the United States, which imports 15 percent of its oil from Nigeria, while Nigeria exports nearly half of its production to the American market.

Following the recent price increase Nigeria's oil revenues will jump to \$28 billion this year or nearly five times the level achieved in 1978.

The president has been presented with the guidelines for Nigeria's prospective Fourth Development Plan, 1980-85. The document, containing "hand-over notes" from the military, highlights the problems, priorities and prospects for the next five years and reviews the past.

A newly constituted National Economic Council, which includes all state governors and the governor of the central bank, is now considering the guidelines and the recommendations of the federal and state planning ministers. They are due to come up with a new plan by March. The president considers the exercise such a priority that he has canceled

(Continued on page 98, col. 1)



President Shagari





# Women Belie Image of 'Market Mammy,' Challenge Customs

By Jean Symington Hage

**L**AGOS (HTT) — The Nigerian woman is often typified by the "market mammy" with an infant strapped to her back, hawking tomatoes, plantains, canned mackerel or lengths of cloth.

Thousands of women lead this life. They are shrewd, aggressive and financially independent — wives, mothers and businesswomen. Yet another image has emerged in recent years of women in Nigeria. The lives of most women here are still shaped by tribal customs but many of these are being questioned. There are lively debates in the press over the respective merits of monogamy and polygamy, child marriages or female circumcision as still practiced by some tribes.

Women in purdah in the predominantly Moslem north voted in last year's elections for the first time and a handful of women are now sitting in the federal legislature. Women's action groups are holding seminars on development and demanding greater equality with men.

## Contrasts in Customs

A recent picture story in a Lagos newspaper illustrated the changing situation. To mark the 20th anniversary of his rule the influential head of a Moslem emirate married off 20 daughters. The wedding ceremony was traditional, but all the brides were clad in long white wedding dresses with veils, gloves, flowers, handbags and silver horseshoes.

Everywhere there are contrasts between the traditional and the modern, between indigenous and Western mores.

Mrs. Modupe Caxton Martins is president of the Lagos State Association of Market Women. She estimates the number of women trading in Lagos at more than 10,000. Her concern is not with street hawkers but with organizing the women to demand working areas which are clean, ventilated and orderly. Sitting outside her office at the Sunlure Model Market in a bustling working-class district of Lagos, she supervises activity in a large market building, half of which is run by association members.

Although the site was acquired more than 20 years ago, the building, which cost 4 million nairas, was not completed until 1978. During its construction the women were moved to a temporary location. When it was time to go back, the city council was reluctant to surren-

der the new building to them, the women took the matter to court, and won.

Mrs. Caxton Martins tells that story with delight. The wife of a former judge, she was never a trader herself, but after raising five children she decided to champion the women's cause.

"I so love mixing up with them," she said, taking pride in enforcing proper dress and conduct in the market.

"Ninety percent of these market women cannot read or write, they only know how to trade," she said. "But without them where would the people of Lagos get food? The government should recognize their efforts."

## Child-Care Centers

Members of her association are located in seven markets in Lagos, and they are pressing for improved facilities, including child-care centers.

"We want clean market areas with water, toilets and plenty of light," said Mrs. Caxton Martins. Oral complaints to the local government council are followed up with letters. If there is still no action, "we hold a press conference. And the government really doesn't want that."

Adierisola Balogun is the daughter of a one-time trader and businesswoman who supported herself and her six children on her earnings. As one of nine wives, she recognized that her family might not receive the same financial support that more favored wives drew from her spouse.

Thanks to her mother's efforts and the help of a wealthy grandmother, Mrs. Balogun was educated in Britain from the age of 12 until she returned to Nigeria with a law degree. She is in private practice and is conference secretary for the sixth Commonwealth Law Conference to be held in Lagos in August.

## Work Stereotypes

Mrs. Balogun said women comprise less than one-eighth of Nigeria's 4,000 and more lawyers. As a professional, she said, "the only restraint I see is that as women we haven't been accorded that recognition of seriousness," by male colleagues. She feels that stereotypes of work appropriate to women still hamper them in the professions.

A mother of three, Mrs. Balogun said that family pressure pushes Ni-

gerian women into motherhood regardless of their career hopes. Like her mother, she has assumed responsibility for her children's education. She noted that working women are experiencing problems finding domestic and child-care workers, and conflicting ambitions are resulting in higher divorce rates.

The International Federation of Women Lawyers, of which Mrs. Balogun is a life member, recently commissioned a study of laws affecting Nigerian women showing that although women are given all fundamental human rights under the constitution, according to statutory and customary law, and as the result of local traditions, women do not enjoy the status of men.

A single woman in Nigeria has more independence under the law than a wife. For example an unmarried woman of at least 21 can sue and be sued, is liable for her debts and can buy or sell property in her own name. She can work and live where she likes and has, on paper at least, equality with men — until she marries. From that day onward under civil law she cannot control her own property, and without her husband's consent cannot enter into loan or hire purchase agreements nor obtain a passport.

In this country both monogamous and polygamous marriages are recognized, and it is not uncommon for a man to have an "outside wife" as a mistress is called. Under most customary law a wife has no claim to her husband's property or income apart from support. However, she is entitled to keep any money or property she acquires by trading.

## Necessary Income

As in Mrs. Balogun's case, in polygamous households mothers often assume sole financial responsibility for their children. An independent income is not a luxury but a necessity and a hedge against divorce, desertion or death of a spouse.

Interestingly, it is not only market women who keep their earnings to themselves. A recent study of relatively "Westernized" Lagos couples where one or both spouses were employed in the university or civil service, found that none of the couples had joint bank accounts. In many cases, the husband was unable to estimate the size of his wife's income, particularly if she were self-employed. The study showed that these wives gave less than 20 per-



Women buying and selling goods in a market in Lagos.

cent of their income to joint household expenses, investing the bulk of their earnings directly in themselves, their children or their own family.

Under customary divorce law a wife is generally awarded only her personal possessions while the husband keeps the house and household items and also has legal right to the children. This explains why women invest in personal items such as cloth and jewelry that retain their value and can be easily resold. What appears to outsiders as sheer vanity is actually good common sense.

Last year's changeover to a new civilian government presented Nigerian women with an opportunity

to contest the elections and gain a voice in government, but the chance was for the most part ignored. Most women preferred to throw their support behind a male candidate rather than seek public office themselves. Attempts to form a women's party foundered. Today only three of the 449 elected members of the House of Representatives are women, and there are no women among the 95 senators.

One of the three women legislators, Mrs. Justina Chinweide Eze, was elected from the eastern state of Anambra and a member as well of the House Committee on Social Welfare. A former nursing student and school teacher, for the past 10 years she has been managing direc-

tor of a construction company. As the mother of seven school-age children and wife of a civil engineer, Mrs. Eze commutes on weekends to her home in the state capital of Enugu where her mother and a sister now manage the extended household.

## Lack of Services

Her concerns lie with the lack of essential services in her area, including hospitals and adequate roads.

Because Nigerian youths and husbands are abandoning their family farms to work in the cities and on oil rigs, Mrs. Eze wants to see equipment introduced that would

ease the labor for the women left to farm.

She feels the participation of women in government services and business "could go a long way to protect the interests of women." Her crusading zeal is evident when she speaks of her decision to run for office.

"I'm in politics because of a call," she says, "and if I'm able to achieve my call I'm praying that there will be other women to continue."

Mrs. Eze's sentiments were echoed shortly after the elections in an open letter to the president urging him to appoint women to ministerial posts. (Of 38 ministerial nominees, only two were women.)

The letter was written by Mrs.

Kofu Pratt, a former high-ranking civil servant, long-time activist and founder of the League of Women Voters which conducted voter education prior to the elections.

## Space on Throne

"Excellencies," she wrote, "I rode on the back of women to victory. Rain or sun, they were there cheer every word you said."

She urged women to "shake the apathy which has become the bane of our lives," and added, "about time a lot more of us stop being the power behind the throne."

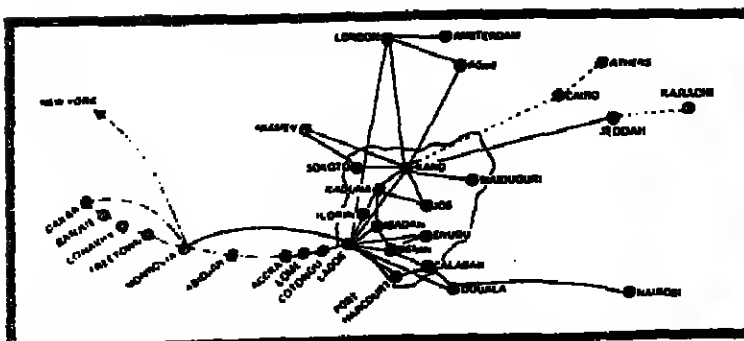
"Let's sit on it for a change, course with enough space left for the men."



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## Foreign Policy Centers on Issues Affecting the Whole of Africa

OS (IHT) — Africa is at the center of Nigeria's foreign policy. Since 1966 Nigerians accused the government of failing to bring to the fore the influence of the country's vast population, size, resources. More recently, Nigerians, reinforced by their wealth and by their control of the most powerful military in black Africa, have taken a continental approach.

In other areas, Nigeria has supported the release of the U.S. hostages in Tehran because it sees the action as a breach of international rules which affects all equally.

There is less enthusiasm for the Soviet Union, although Nigeria has not withdrawn of foreign aid. For, while Nigeria upholds sovereignty and the sanctity of borders — even the often-cited issue is too often be a part of conflict between powers for Nigeria to wish to be directly. And the foreign policy is above all devoted to one of nonalignment.

Nigeria maintains correct, cordial, relations with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, and Yugoslavia. It, for example, trains Soviet technicians, and is a state enterprise in Nigeria.

Historical reasons, however, its relations with Britain, within the Commonwealth many other levels — educational and professional, are, for example, a number of military instructors at Nigerian Staff College.

**Reversed Links**

Economically the colonial relationship has been reversed. Nigerian restrictions and the importance of North Sea oil changed the picture last year. But 8 British exports to Nigeria worth £1.13 billion, while Nigerian exports to Britain were only £286 million, giving a huge favorable balance of

trade, which had continued for years, at a time when the pound was still weak.

Political relations between the two countries have not always been smooth in the 20 years since independence. Journalists and students, in particular, have suspected that Britain still has imperialist intentions. More important, successive Nigerian governments have accused Britain of supporting racist regimes in southern Africa.

As with the United States, Nigeria may have no significant direct dispute with Britain, but relations turn on events in southern Africa. Nigeria has misgivings about Britain's policy of allowing the British governor in Zimbabwe, Lord Soames, to rely on Rhodesian security forces.

The cordiality of relations with the Carter administration was a feature of the last years of the military regime. During the Nixon administration the regime told Washington that a visit by Henry Kissinger, long planned but long delayed, was no longer desirable. Lagos expected, and on the whole believed, that it is getting a different response from the present administration, especially by the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young. Mr. Carter himself visited Nigeria in 1978, the first U.S. president to do so.

### Obasanjo's Visit

The earlier official visit to the United States by Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, head of the federal military government, led to some criticism among Nigerians. But the then minister of foreign affairs, Brig. Gen. Joseph Garba, explained that the visit was a recognition of a change in U.S. policy, and would strengthen the tendencies in the United States favorable to a black takeover in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and to bringing pressure on South Africa to change its apartheid policy.

Even Mr. Young's departure did not affect Lagos-Washington relations. Some Nigerians indeed felt that Mr. Young tended to see the liberation forces of Southern Africa

as "civil rights" movements, such as that in the United States, rather than as contenders for political power. But the Nigerian government did not share President Carter's alarm at Cuban activities in Africa, particularly as it did not seem to be matched by alarm at South African activities in Angola and elsewhere, or at French military intervention in Zaire and other countries. Nigeria wants the continent freed of all foreign troops. The Nigerians maintain that it is the failures of Western policy that invite communist intervention in Africa.

Nor are the Nigerians any less critical of the United States than of other Western countries in the international gatherings where for years the rich and the poor countries have been sparring — such as the Law of the Sea Conference or the International Cocos Council.

### Peacekeeping Units

The Carter administration, however, has agreed to consult and inform Nigeria on African matters. And Nigeria has recognized that American support is vital for success in many African issues, notably concerning southern Africa. Lagos also welcomes U.S. participation in joint ventures, particularly with expertise, and technical training for Nigerians in the United States.

Some Nigerian critics of the Lagos-Washington rapport attribute this to the U.S. position as Nigeria's main customer for oil, and Nigeria's position as the second most important U.S. supplier.

As a member of the UN, Nigeria has sent military contingents to the former Congo, and much later to the Lebanon. As a Commonwealth member it sent a contingent to Tanzania after the mutiny of the army there. Last year it sent a peacekeeping force to Chad — but this was its least successful effort in this field.

Nigeria is the most important member of the Organization of African Unity. It took a lead in establishing the 16-state Economic Community of West African States, with headquarters in Lagos. A Nigerian economist is executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, based in Addis Ababa. Nigeria also took a lead in the negotiations for the first Lome Convention between the EEC and the African, Caribbean and Pacific states — less because of concern with relations with the EEC than because it saw that a united approach to the EEC was essential for economic unity in West Africa itself.

Nigeria's armed forces have never fought those of any country since independence. But relations with its neighbors have not always been smooth. With Benin (formerly Dahomey) to the west, relations have been affected by the huge

smuggling across the border — to Benin's benefit. There have been minor frontier disputes with Cameroon, to the east. Until the overthrow last year of President Macias Nguema, its relations with Equatorial Guinea, off the eastern coast, were frigid because of treatment there of Nigerian immigrant workers on whom the cocoa plantations depended.

Nigeria cooperates with its neighbors in various interstate bodies such as the Chad Basin Commission.

Although about half of Nigeria's people are Moslems, it has always avoided direct involvement in the Arab-Israeli dispute. With other African countries it cut relations with Israel on the ground that Israel was occupying the territory in Sinai of an African nation, Egypt. And there were suggestions during the election campaign that if Israel withdrew from African soil, Nigeria should resume its former relations with Israel.

On the other hand, Nigeria is in a sense part of the Moslem world. In 1977, for example, Nigeria was, apart from Saudi Arabia itself, the third most important source of pilgrims to Mecca. And pilgrims come from all over West Africa to Sokoto to pay homage at the tomb of Usman Dan Fodio, the Islamic reformer who founded the Sokoto empire at the beginning of the 19th century.



Tribal horsemen on parade in northern Nigeria.

## machinery of Economy runs Smoothly on Oil

Continued from page 75)

ously arranged "African economic summit" to launch the plan. The council has found that the economy grew at 8.5 per cent during the past four years. The civilian government has over a much better port and airports are in the process of being upgraded. Roads and communications are getting better, though much work remains to be done. The management of two Nigerian corporations has also been strengthened by taking on foreign management. Nigeria's railway is being reorganized by an American team, and managers from KLM, are running Nigeria Airways.

National Economic Council that the 1978-80 plan had filled 60 percent of its target. Agricultural performance was very poor, growing at only 1.5 per cent a year, insufficient to keep pace with population growth. A farmer himself, Obasanjo, has already announced an "agricultural program" of action to boost food production. The main "green revolution" is launched with the help of foreign aid.

Money will be spent to support the production of maize, cassava and rice. More farm machinery will be imported to assist in mechanization programs. Government's target is to make the country self-sufficient in food within five years and to restore it as an oil exporter within seven years, according to Agriculture Minister Ibrahim Gusau.

Seriousness of the situation is illustrated by a recent warning from the Cotton Board that Nigeria soon be forced to import cotton to supply its textile mills. The government's failure to raise prices to farmers. Cotton is now certain to join oilseeds and palm oil where Nigeria was once a major exporter and is now failing to supply the home market. It seems set to follow a similar path unless an agricultural revolution is achieved. There is no doubt the sincerity of the new government, but many previous promises placed agriculture high on the list of verbal priorities with no effect.

### Banned List

An industry has also proved unable to cope with the need to protect imports on the military government's banned list. Already a number of items have been removed from the list, including sugar, razor blades, paper, and its import quota for rice is agreed. Car imports are reduced virtually to zero. At the end of last year, the government also got a quota of \$100 million for the production of goods. At least 200 items are on the list of banned goods.

manufacture versus imports has still not been finally resolved and the whole policy is now under review.

Meanwhile, Chief Adeyemi Lawson, the outgoing president of Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry said that the contradictions in industrial policy must be removed and incentives given for investment in productive sectors. Such incentives, Chief Lawson said, should include fiscal relief and improved conditions to attract foreign investment. He said that import restrictions had not achieved their main aim and that there was still a widespread shortage of food and manufactured goods, while the industrial sector experienced a slow rate of growth due to unreliable infrastructural facilities. The supervision of imports posed a serious bottleneck to the flow of essential raw materials and spare parts, he added.

Financially, however, Nigeria is in a strong position. The most recent figures, covering the first half of last year, show a balance of trade surplus of \$500 million compared with a substantial deficit for the first half of 1978. The forecast is for a healthy trade surplus of \$1.1 billion for the whole of 1979. The current account surplus will be much less than this, because Nigeria usually registers a considerable deficit on invisibles, but the surplus will be there, and growing, as the OPEC oil price goes up. This situation is reflected in reserves, which fell to below \$1 billion last year and have since jumped to \$2.3 billion in September.

### State Budgets

Despite this strong financial position the president does have many problems. Nigeria's workers have had an official wage freeze since 1975. The Nigerian Labor Congress has said that it now expects substantial wage increases. The president has said that he will allow free bargaining between management and workers but hopes that workers will "exercise restraint." Now that he is under pressure, he will be forced to work out a wage policy and fight to hold the line.

Another problem is the control of the 19 expensive state governments. Most of these have been in the habit of deliberately overspending their budgets in the hope that the federal government will rescue them if they get into difficulties.

Most states failed to balance their budgets and began to default in payments to major contractors. Even the leaders of the military government, which castigated state profligacy, agreed to an extra billion dollars being passed onto the states before they left office, out of the "revenue windfall" arising from the higher oil prices.

The states need still more to meet long overdue payments on past projects and to begin free universal primary education. Many states, of all political complexions, will continue to cause financial problems.



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# Free Primary Education to Bring Widespread Social Change

By A. McGarvey

**L**AGOS (IHT) — Universal primary education will bring about a social revolution in Nigeria. In September, 1976, the federal military government launched a national program to bring the benefits of an education to all Nigerians. The aim is to offer free, and ultimately compulsory, schooling for every Nigerian child from the age of 6.

Perhaps no other sector has been subject to so much planning and policy innovations as education. At the end of 1977 the government issued a White Paper, "National Policy on Education," based on the findings of a panel of educational experts which began work in 1973 on formulating such a policy, bearing in mind that education is, in the government's view, "the instrument par excellence for effecting national development."

An implementation committee was set up under Saniya Onabamiro to translate the policy into a workable blueprint, which it completed and presented to government early last year. Its recommendations, some of them controversial, will be gradually tested over the next few years until, in 1982 — the year when the program's first entrants emerge from primary school — full implementation is due to begin.

The implication of millions of primary school leavers whose expectations have been raised and who are therefore unwilling to remain "on the farm" has been seriously considered by the planners. They agree that all primary school leavers should have an opportunity to continue their education (the third national development estimates that 40 percent will go from primary to secondary schools) and have therefore restructured secondary education.

The government undertook full financial responsibility for the introduction of UPE, which was originally not planned to begin until last year, although state governments are responsible for its operation and local governments have day-to-day control. From 1974 onward, specific budgetary allocations were made for the construction of classrooms and the training of enough teachers to fulfill demand. In the 1979-80 budget, for example, 900 million niras, almost a third of the total, was allocated to education; of this more than 600 million niras were for the UPE program alone.

UPE is not a new concept in Nigeria. In 1955 the Western Region government of Chief Awolowo attempted to introduce free education, and was followed a couple of years later by the Eastern Region. Both plans encountered many difficulties, and threw into sharp contrast the differences between the Northern Region and the rest of the country.

When introduction of UPE was discussed in 1973, for every primary school pupil in the six northern states there were four in the six southern states, for every secondary school pupil there were five and for every student in a postsecondary institution, six. Yet more than half Nigeria's population was in "the North."

Some commentators argue that because of differing social customs — some schoolchildren, for example, come from families of nomadic cattle owners — the program will not become truly "universal" until it is also compulsory.

## Early Problems

Enrollment figures under UPE have, however, been consistently higher than those estimated by the planners. In September, 1976, 2.9 million pupils enrolled in primary one — 30 percent more than the estimate. Inevitably there were problems — not all classrooms were completed on time and there was a serious shortage of trained teachers.

The next stage of schooling, to be introduced in 1982, is junior secondary. All primary school pupils can move on to three years further teaching at this level, after which pupils who leave can opt for an apprenticeship or some other job training. Those who remain will start a three-year senior secondary course after which they can go on to university or some other form of higher education. Sixth forms will be phased out and a four-year university course introduced.

In his April, 1979 budget speech, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo complained of the inexorable rise in the cost of UPE as each year a new group of 6-year-olds reached the schools, a recurrent commitment which would become increasingly burdensome. He felt able, however, to promise not only free tuition in secondary schools — an election issue — but also some relief to the hard pressed universities.

He emphasized the need for further teacher training, including an

increase in the number, then 17,700, of students in teacher training colleges, and expansion of education facilities at universities. He announced also establishment of three more colleges of technology with places for about 5,000 students. Output from the medical schools was expected to rise from 300 to more than 1,000 this year.

Technical education has been given priority because of the skilled manpower requirements of the economy and the lack of adequately trained personnel.

Several years ago the military government, with the assistance of nine other nations, began a crash overseas training program for middle-level technical manpower, a plan that has met with varying degrees of success. 5,000 Nigerians are being trained under the plan.

But the new government feels confident that the training can now be given at home. In January the minister of education announced that the program was to be halted. An outstanding problem, however, was recently cleared up. Students at technical colleges at last accepted introduction of a one-tier Nigerian national diploma program, instead of the old two-tier ordinary and higher national diploma.

Although the training of technicians is crucial to Nigeria's future, the universities are also vital. Nigeria now has 13 universities — seven of them created in 1975 — as far as finance goes they have been educational "poor relations."

During recent convocation ceremonies, vice chancellors said time and again that vital research programs were having to be curtailed or even abandoned because of financial constraints. The committee of vice chancellors is against the creation of any more universities — at least until they can be adequately financed. Nevertheless, several state governments have already announced their intentions of creating more.

Responsibility for higher education has, since 1975, been with the federal government, although the new constitution provides for its return to the "concurrent list" of government functions, responsibility for which is shared by the federal and state governments.

The main stress now is not on the formation of new universities but on improving technical education and on programs of adult and non-formal education. It is planned that the ratio between students studying



Children on their way to classes as school term begins in Lagos.

scientific and nonscientific subjects should be 3-2.

Recently the president said that the universities must show greater evidence of teaching related to Nigeria's needs and aspirations. About 53,000 students enrolled in 1979-80, 20 percent short of the government's target, although many more qualified for places than were admitted. The plan is therefore to encourage more correspondence courses and establish an "open university" system as in Britain.

Nigeria, added the president, cannot afford "the luxury of student unrest." During the 13 years of military rule there was constant friction between government and students. Soldiers were often in evidence on campus, and disturbances led to university closures. The 1978-

79 year could not be termed a "bad" year from that point of view. There were, however, several incidents leading to the closure of universities.

The National Universities Commission and the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board have both come in for heavy criticism, from vice chancellors as well as students. The NUC was established in 1962 to coordinate university activities and was reconstituted in 1974 with much wider powers. It has impinged on university autonomy much more than university staff would like, partly because it is the agency through which the heavy financial cutbacks of the past few years have been made.

The NUC ban on political activities by university staff was highly

unpopular. The Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board was established to coordinate and centralize university admissions and this, it was hoped, give a fairer federal "spread" of admissions.

The military regime has not, therefore, bequeathed to the civilians an entirely happy state of affairs in the universities.

Many vice chancellors are themselves discontented and disenchanted (one-third resigned voluntarily this year). They have been subject to increased government interference in their affairs. The military regime's theory was that by turning all the universities into federal institutions, it would enhance the "federal character" of Nigeria.

But instead, university enrollment has come to reflect a more

particularist bias than in the 1960s when only Lagos and Ibadan were federal institutions. The haste with which the new universities were established (Sokoto, for example, has not yet begun construction of permanent buildings) is unfortunately developing the idea of first and second class degrees in the minds of both employers and students.

Another problem is the fall in standards in primary schools which will presumably be reflected upward as time goes on. Professor Onabamiro has expressed disquiet over a "drastic" fall in standards, especially in rural areas. The content and quality of work of a standard 6 pupil today is, he says, lower than that of a primary 4 pupil 10 years ago. Teachers must be blamed for this. The president, too, is worried. He plans to present a bill to the Na-

tional Assembly laying down minimum standards for primary secondary education. This is with his party's promise of education.

A possible constitutional could be brought about by a change over education — by a between the president and a more of the five state governors. The Unity Party of Nigeria, "free" education. The president hinted that private schools, once again be allowed to operate provided that they fulfill minimum requirements. This already has a reaction from the Lagos Legislature, which had just announced the takeover of all primary schools, and from the executive, which sees it as a challenge to the powers of a

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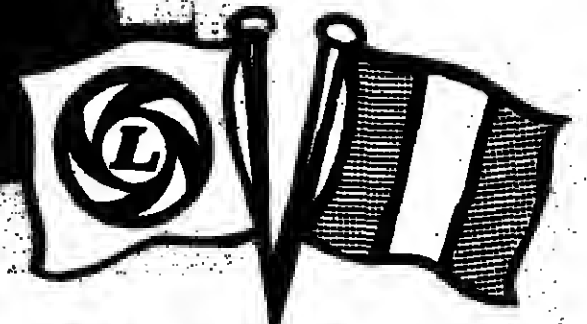
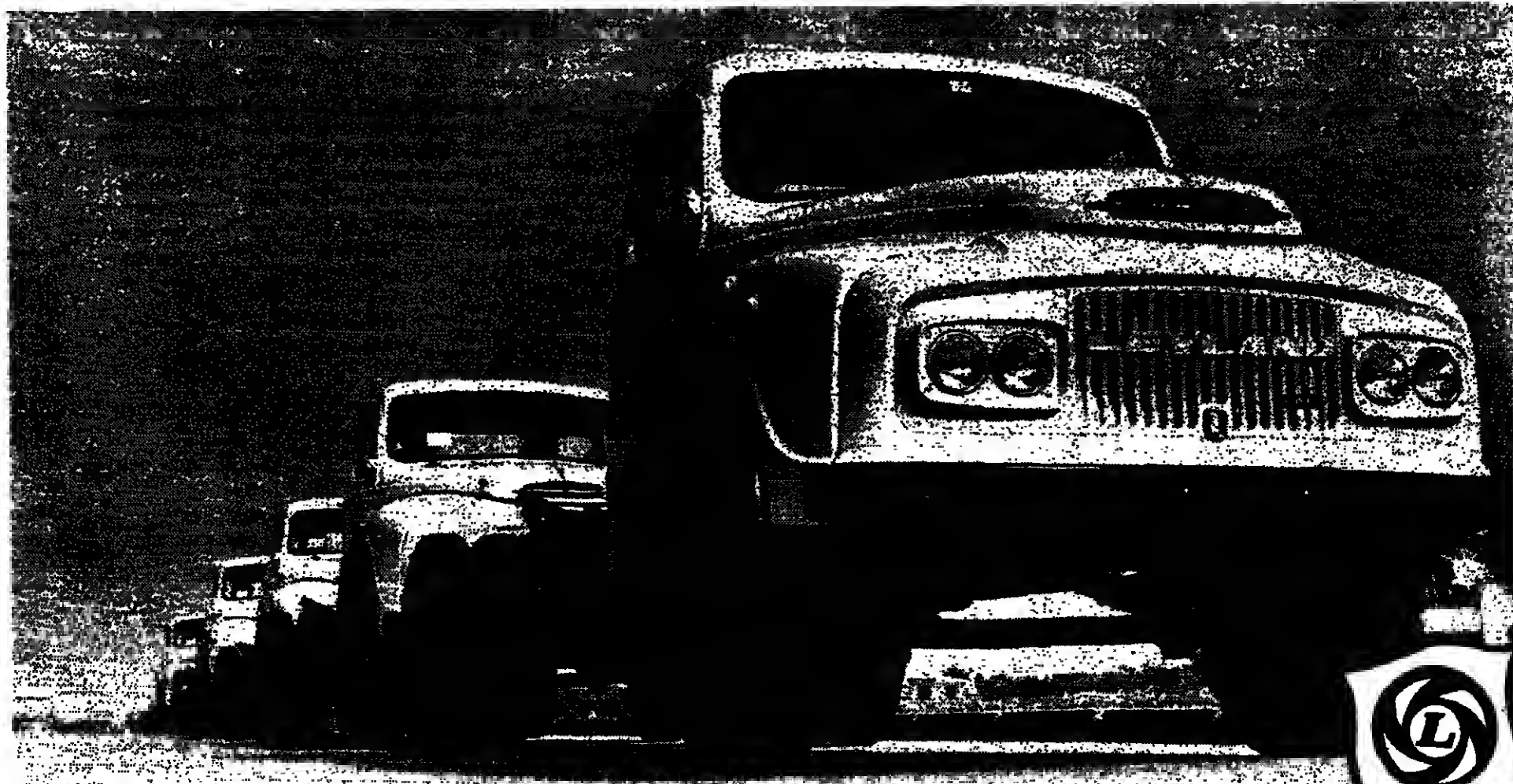
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### Prohibited Imports

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## Clean Report

Other goods, and that means everything that is imported, are subject to controls governing the amount that may be imported, the cost and the quality. New importers are finding it much easier to open letters of credit than was the case a year ago, the main reason being that the introduction of supervision by the Societe Generale de Surveillance at the exporting end led to a slowing of orders processed as the system was introduced.

Despite such stories, Nigeria is much the largest market in black Africa. The GNP of the 13 franco-



phone states stretching from Gabon to Senegal comes to half of Nigeria's GNP of \$45 billion, the 1978 figure. Traditionally, the market was controlled by British companies, and even now Britain just keeps its nose in front as the leading

supplier with 21.3 percent of the market, whereas it has been as high as 70 percent. Hard on its heels comes West Germany with 15.2 percent.

It is worth knowing that in most former British colonies, the metro-

politan country remains the biggest supplier, although the lead is constantly whittled away. It is the same with France and its former colonies. In both cases, West Germany is almost invariably second. The moral of the story has not been lost on the

Whereas figures governing the oil sector are not known, some consultant has reckoned for agricultural tractors, the working life of a machine is 300 hours in Nigeria compared with 7,000 hours in Western Europe. Regardless of the accuracy of such computing, Nigeria is spending heavily on the agricultural sector, both on capital intensive and labor intensive plans.

### Decline in Food

The purpose of such investment is to reduce the country's nether growing import of basic foodstuffs. At present, machinery, including transport equipment, and foodstuffs comprise about 60 percent of imports in any year. The growth of oil has led to the decline of agriculture, the sort of phenomenon familiar to Third World planners, al-

As for the peculiarities of the Nigerian market, they are to be found in the nature and sensibilities of society. Any trader who has watched governmental attempts, with full popular support, to give control of the economy to Nigerians will be aware of the importance of doing business through local agents.

Those companies which have reduced their profit margins by using a local supplier are the ones which have improved their business. This is particularly so now that all the big trading companies with international names and reputations have widened their local base. These are the companies, the United Africa company and the like, which can give an importer the promotion and after-sales service which brings success.

continued from page 7S)  
 "Insulation from my party  
 allies."  
 Is the National Party of Ni-  
 ger an electoral machine  
 that will now remain dormant until  
 the next election, or is it a political  
 shield your administration?  
 Is the National Party of Nigeria  
 a political party, certainly the  
 nationally based party in Ni-  
 ger? A party cannot afford to  
 be in its determination to press  
 the struggle for the emanci-  
 pation of the Nigerian people from  
 poverty, disease, underdevelop-  
 ment and the trammels of  
 colonialism.  
 What kind of party lineup do  
 you expect at the next election?  
 The NPN will certainly con-  
 tain next elections. The other  
 ought to speak for them-

Some parts of the northern and, I believe, in some parts western states, the institution of slavery seems to be under strain. Do you think that in the long term it will survive, and if so, in what form?

Slavery is an important and varied phenomenon of our country. It is an important element in our history. It is the party's position on our country as a people and as a nation. It is to preserve our culture, our traditions, and our institutions in the changing world of the future.

ne ever throws out the baby  
e bath water. So must it be  
r culture. Our institutions of  
ney must survive, and so will  
ure, in spite of the impact of  
ization. To the best of my  
I shall uphold the constitu-  
d ensure that chiefs remain  
isan and continue to fulfill  
ditional roles.

igeria is a secular state. In the state does not interfere in the of religion, which is an individual or group matter. igeria now has a highly ntrade union movement. Do that in the face of inflation after years of restriction will continue to show ment restraint? I think they will, considering l of the maturity of the unership. We shall be in conologue with them, ensuring y have the full knowledge of z of our economy, problems pects. re you satisfied with the figacy the military has left nistration?

gerna will finance her development needs from both internal and external sources to the extent necessary resources are available, under terms and conditions must not conflict with our national goals and aspirations.

Will Nigeria look outside for investment funds, notably to the Lome Convention, the World Bank group as well as other financial banks?

are in the process of drawing the Fourth National Development Plan, a plan that will show anticipated resources and expenditure in the next five years. After finalizing the plan, we shall be in a position to determine what to generate internally and what to raise elsewhere.

"Will you adopt a policy of res-  
oil production whether for  
ation or to maintain prices?"  
but oil policy is predicated  
ie principles of national in-  
solidarity with the Organiza-  
Petroleum Exporting Coun-  
the advancement of inter-  
justice, stability and peace.  
all your administration relax  
ons on consumer imports

and will it offer fresh incentives to foreign investors and contractors, or do you expect to introduce further measures to promote indigenization?

**A:** Our economic policies will be predicated on the need to enhance national self-sufficiency in food production, development of export manufactures, utilizing nationally produced raw materials, development of our iron and steel resources, our petrochemical industries, our vegetable products and agro-based industries and the stimulation of internal and external demand for the products of Nigerian industry. We are particularly interested in the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) region and we believe that at the economic interdependence of this region, our government in policies designed to increase our relative share of world production of goods and services and not merely in consumption of goods and services produced by other nations.

**Q:** Food and shelter are the symbols of your party, and you have spoken often of your vision of a "green revolution." How do you expect to bring this about, and when do you expect Nigeria to be self-sufficient in food?

**A:** My government will accomplish its "green revolution" program by raising the allocation of funds for agriculture at both federal and state levels; prompt supply of

fertilizers and insecticides to farmers; easy cash credits in the growing months through rural-based producers and credit societies; the encouragement of the formation and the use of rural producer cooperatives established for rural development as a channel for aid and by encouraging individuals and organizations to establish large-scale farms by providing them with credit facilities, subsidies and other incentives. We shall also enter into partnerships with reputable foreign bodies to establish large-scale farms.

On housing, my government aims at building millions of housing units over the next five years throughout the country. This will be achieved by building more houses in rural and urban areas; establishing housing layouts and providing roads, water, electricity, drains and allowing the plots out at reasonable rates; providing loans to public servants to build their own houses and encouraging commercial and mortgage banks and cooperative societies to grant loans for the construction of houses.

**Q:** You are reported as wanting to encourage the setting up of industries all over the country. How will you encourage businessmen to invest in more remote areas?

**A:** We shall create industrial centers and provide infrastructural facilities like roads, water, electricity and housing and improved communications in the remote parts of the country. We shall grant tax rebates and special incentives for industries to be established in such areas in addition to liberalizing loans for prospective investors.

**Q:** Foreign affairs appear to have played no part in the recent elections. Do you, nevertheless, feel that you have the complete support of Nigerians for your stand on Zimbabwe?

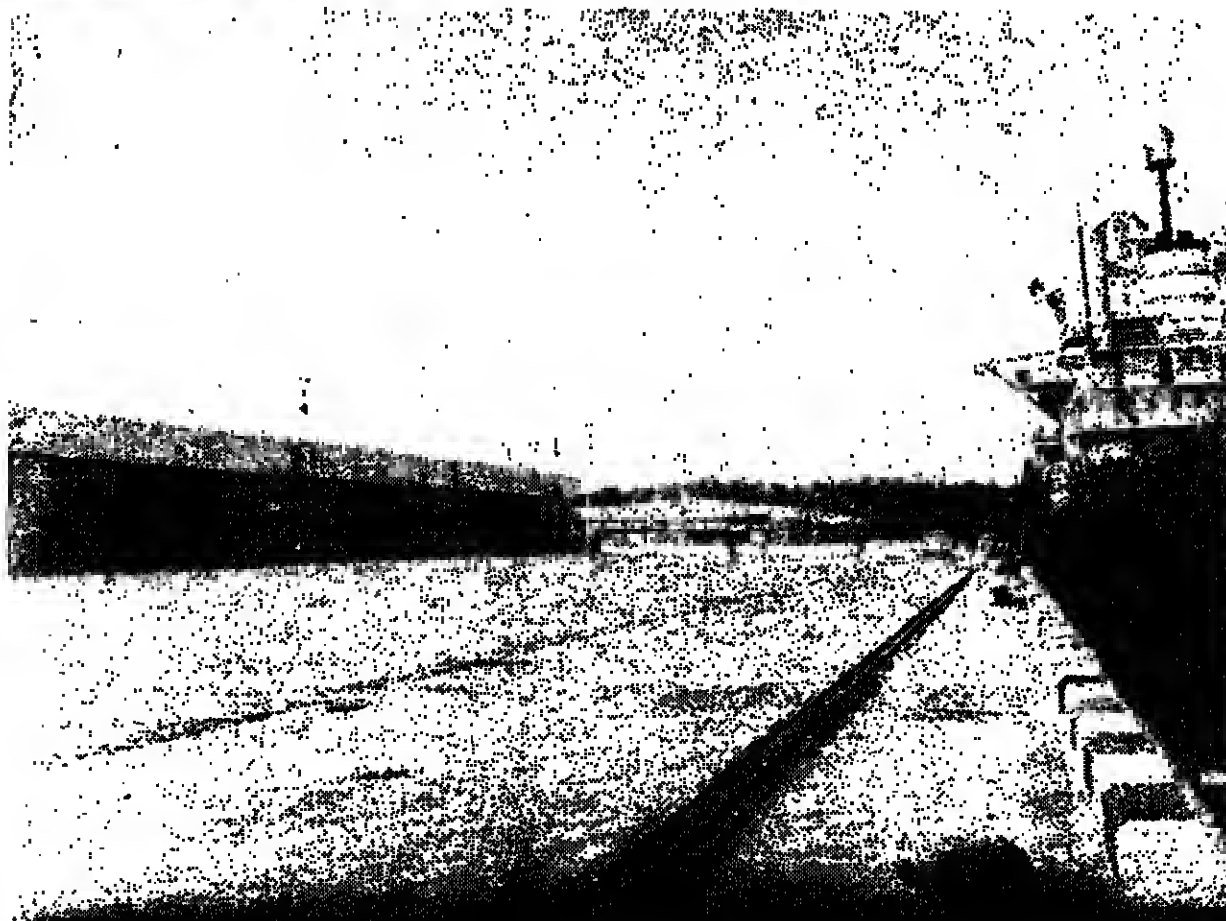
**A:** Our position on foreign affairs was quite clear in the recent elections. . . . Total liberation of Africa; no compromise with apartheid; support for freedom and human dignity in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere in the world; self-determination in the Sahara. These are principles on which we have the backing of the nation.

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# Organized Labor Starting to Undo Restraints of Military Rule

By A. McGarvey

**L**AGOS (IHT) — Nigeria's labor movement has a crucial role in the Second Republic. Under the previous military regime the wage freeze and the general economic climate imposed a measure of restraint on organized labor. Some employers awaited civilian rule with apprehension, fearing a rash of wage demands from unions trying to catch up with inflation if the freeze were lifted.

So far their fears have been unjustified and labor leaders have continued to urge restraint. They will, however, expect some relief soon. Recently, the president of the Nigerian Labor Congress, the single central labor organization, suggested that the minimum wage should be set at no less than 300 nairas a month. He was speaking before the National Assembly Committee discussing salaries for the executive and legislature.

Senators have, for example, suggested salaries of 17,000 nairas for themselves and 50,000 nairas for the president, sums dismissed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari as far too high. He suggested 25,000 nairas for himself and 12,000 for the senators. The final decision, however, rests with the National Assembly. But Nigerian workers are not likely to be impressed by calls for restraint if they see the "big men" voting themselves exceedingly large salaries and allowances. This is a possible cause of labor unrest.

Each political party, recognizing the advantage of union support, however tacit, wooed the workers with a manifesto. The Unity Party of Nigeria, the "party of the common man," proposed a minimum wage of 200 nairas a month — this could yet be done where it rules in the states of Ondo, Oyo, Lagos and Bendel — and made much play of the National Party of Nigeria being a "rich man's party." For its part the NPN spelt out a six-point "workers' charter" to help accelerate Nigerianization of jobs and improve housing and transport for the lower paid.

## Quality of Life

It appears that the wage freeze, although it has not been lifted, will not be considered binding by the civilian regime. Before his inauguration the president promised that he would have no hesitation in allow-

ing wage increases — so long as they did not "aggravate inflation."

Rather than more money straight away, workers would prefer positive measures by government to improve the quality of life. Alhaji Shehu felt. For example, cheap and abundant food, better housing, a reliable and cheap public transport system. One step already taken has been the reintroduction of car loans for public employees. The abolition of car loans and basic allowances by the previous regime caused loud and sustained protest from the Nigerian Labor Congress, and especially from the Nigerian civil servants union led by David Ojeli, deputy president of the NLC.

The congress, which was only established in 1976, got itself into hot water in the last few months of the military regime. At the first full meeting of its national executive since its inception, members decided to present a 21-day ultimatum to the federal government to lift the wage freeze. It was not specified what would happen if it were ignored.

The ultimatum had apparently been forced on the executive by more militant members at a meeting where the president, Hassan Summonu, had sustained heavy criticism for being too "accommodating" to the government. Maj. Gen. Shehu Yar'Adua, the chief of staff, played a large part in the talks which followed between labor leaders and the labor ministry, whose commissioner had at first refused to entertain any discussion unless the ultimatum was lifted. The talks did lead to a withdrawal of the ultimatum so that a solution could be worked out in a peaceful atmosphere.

## Rent Subsidies

Inevitably, little came of the talks, although the Congress did make some gains. For example, "punitive decrees" were to be reviewed and it was agreed that rent subsidies for all categories of workers could be negotiated between employer and employee. No agreement was then reached on the restoration of car loans and basic allowances. But, said the congress, "meaningful agreement" was reached on the wage freeze and incomes policy. The timing of the ultimatum, a few months before the return to civilian rule was puzzling.



Road gang laying new rails for heavier freight and passenger traffic.

For any civilian regime must surely be more susceptible than a military one to threats of labor unrest.

Nigeria has only one central labor organization, the Nigerian Labor Congress, recognized in 1978. Its establishment was part of an attempt by the federal government to bring some order into the often chaotic state of affairs inside the Nigerian labor movement.

The history of disunity goes back a long way — more than 30 years. The history of labor organization in Nigeria goes back even further, the first "union" — the Southern Civil Service Union — formed as far back as 1912.

The Trade Union Ordinance, however, was not enacted until 1939, and the first union to register,

the Railway Workers Union, almost at once showed its militancy in a mass demonstration for better working conditions. Several years later its leader, Michael Imoudu, was detained as an agitator and on his release in 1945 Nigeria experienced its first national strike, which lasted nearly two months. This concerted demand for better pay and conditions led to the first of many

commissions of inquiry into living costs.

The 1950s and 1960s saw several abortive attempts to form a trades union congress. But there were too many rivalries, resulting in a constantly shifting pattern of groupings. Often the central organizations — whose numbers varied — were more concerned with getting money from overseas bodies (one,

say, from the ICFTU and its rival from the WFOTU) as disillusioned workers stopped paying their dues. The new Nigerian Labor Congress is forbidden to receive money from overseas and can affiliate only to the All African Trades Union Federation.

The situation confronting Gen. Murtala Mohammed on his takeover in July, 1975, was one of four

feuding central labor bodies with differing overseas affiliations. December of that year, in high pressure from the general, they came together to form a Nigerian Labor Congress. It was short-lived.

The federal government refused to recognize the new organization saying that it had not been democratically elected and that, among its leaders were discredited figures who had not fared well in the past (into union affairs).

In September, 1976, the government promulgated decree 44, which banned the four constituent congresses and appointed an administrator to oversee union affairs. The task was to reorganize the unions on "industrial" lines. 1,000-odd unions were finally listed down to about 70 — 42 staff associations or "real" unions, 19 senior associations and employers' associations.

## 'Real' Unions

The 42 "real" unions met at the end of February, 1978, and for the present Nigerian Labor Congress. Its president is elected every three years and it has a full professional staff. It was given a million nairas by the government "take off" and was formally inaugurated a year after its inception.

The congress relies entirely on members' contributions for funds collected under the "check-off" system by employers, although employers can "contract out." Congress officials are confident of a potential membership of 4 million — a happy over-optimistic figure.

Now that there is once again civilian rule it is uncertain whether the new found unity of the labor movement will last. The congress said before the elections it was against its members taking part in active politics (although union general secretary was elected to the Federal House of Representatives on the NPN ticket).

In the First Republic, union leaders playing politics often weakened a central organization's bargaining power. There is now a danger that the new government does not take fast to satisfy the aspirations of low-paid workers, politicians step in to exploit the resulting faction and even encourage unionists in an attempt to bring down government.

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# IBRU



## Nigeria's Ports Put in Order

by Hermann Mellinshoff

LAGOS (IHT) — The most creditable accomplishment of outgoing military government that it put its ports in order. credit for this is certainly due to Alhaji Tukur, head of Nigerian ports through four regimes, well as capable technicians of a Germany. until the cement scandal during mid-1970s, when industrialists were permitted to place orders for tons of cement and so on a line of obsolete ships to arrive in Lagos, Senegal's Dakar in decline and the Ivory Coast's new port of Abidjan was rising up fast to challenge for first on the West Coast. At this point, Alhaji Tukur gained full executive power and the necessary investment funds and provided Nigeria with the ports facilities it needed. one of the first regular shipping lines linking Africa was Liverpool — established more than 100 years ago. Lagos made a fine harbor with ships alongside Lagos is or riding at buoys with lighters loading, catering for Nigeria's ships until the first Apapa extension in 1954-58.

### Rapid Expansion

Then came Nigeria's rapid economic expansion, and Apapa Phase 1964-67 failed to keep pace. After the nationalization of all Nigerian ports in 1969, the position was bleak. Sen. Murtallah Muhammad certainly realized the problem. He did covertly make visits to Apapa with just an aide and one bodyguard, and Alhaji Tukur persuaded that an enormous budget was needed if Nigeria was to catch up. He told Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo provide the funds. The third phase development in Badagry was set up in 1975, and the following year work started on Tinian Island further up the creek and subsequently on two new lighterage areas above that. Badagry Creek was a sleepy backwater left to whiskey smugglers, skend picnickers in noisy boats and the casual pirate. Now with Apapa 3 and Tin Can Island the situation has changed. There is a spawater channel 200 meters wide, dredged to 11.5 meters, with a turning basin permitting 25,000-ton ships to maneuver as far as the stern side of Tin Can.

In 1969 the small port of Warri, belonging to John Holt of Liverpool and 80 kilometers up the Warri River, was no more than a small trading post between Lagos and Port Harcourt, a port already becoming important with oil. The port was nationalized with all the others, and in May, 1977, Julius Berger began to build a new major port to the west of the town — six berths, a 1,600-meter quay dredged to 11.5 meters with a large turning basin separating it from the old port and suitable for large ships of up to 20,000 tons to turn in. Down river, the Delta Ports access channel opened up the Delta area to large ships — fully laden 15,000 tonners and 20,000 tonners partly laden can now get up to Warri.

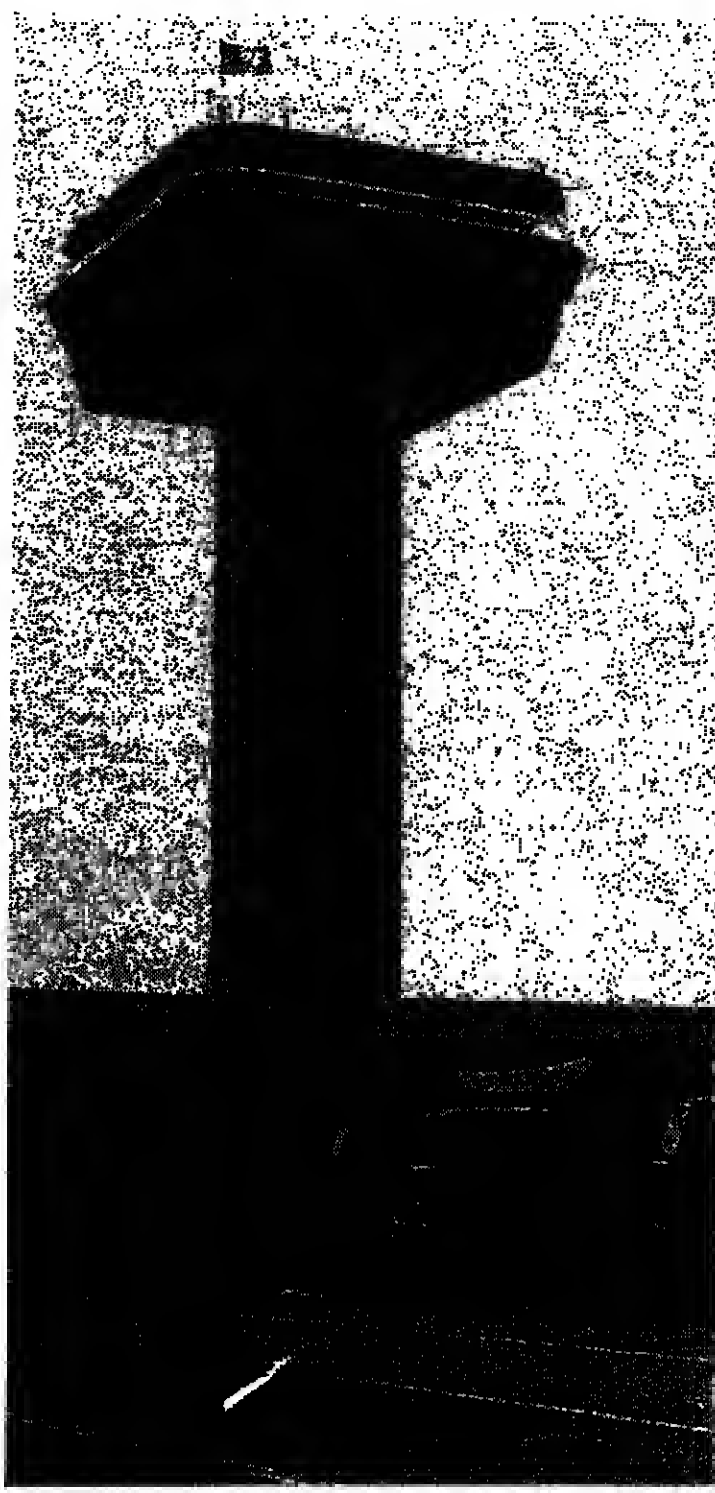
### Provision for Cranes

The new Warri port was completed last May and overall tonnage should reach 2.5 million in the current year, having topped 1.3 million the previous year. Ro-ro ships of up to 9.5-meter draft can use the new port, but other ships have to load and unload themselves. Provision has been made to install cranes but there are none at present.

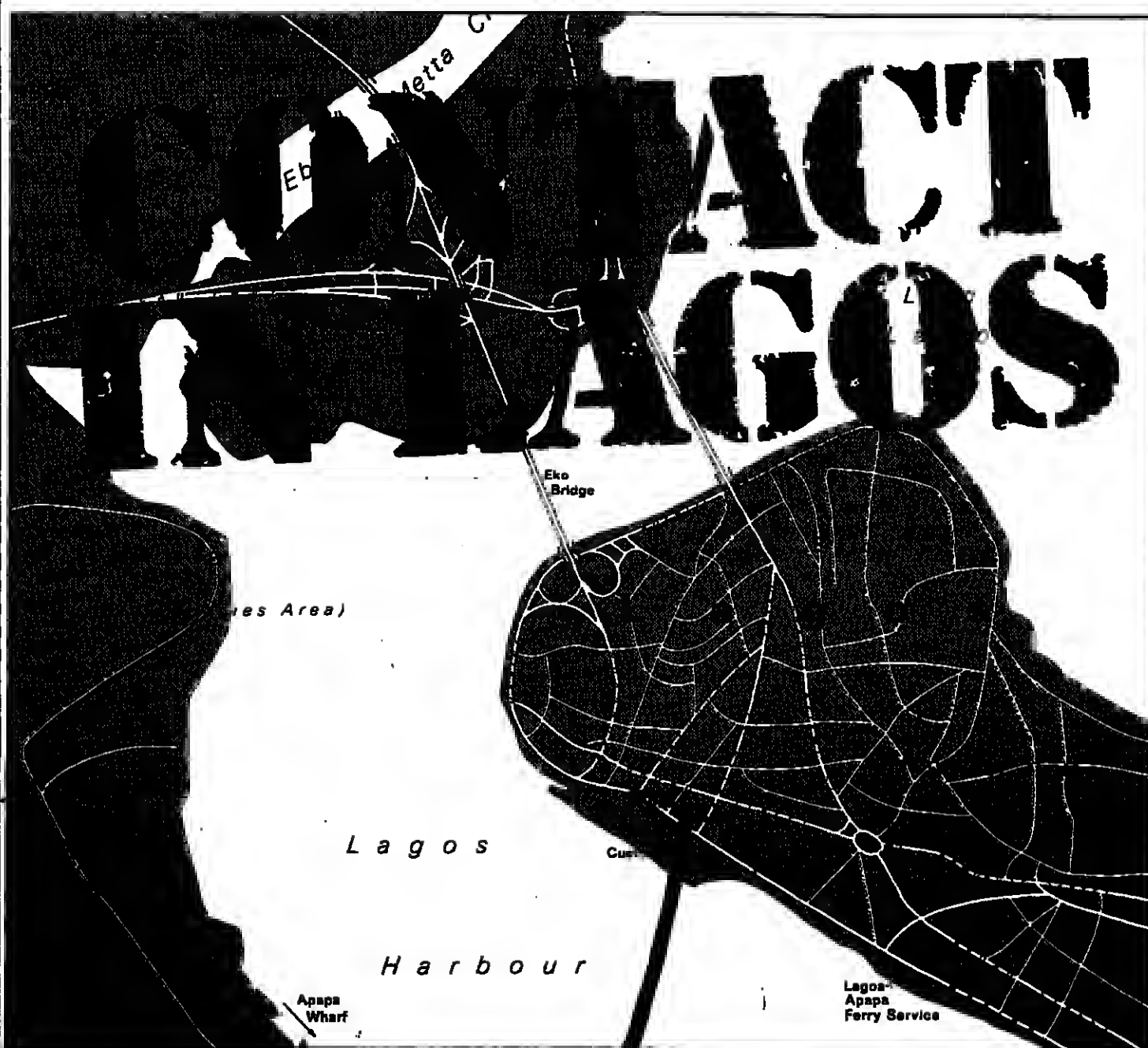
Calabar — is the newest and possibly the most interesting of the ports, and its debut corrects past neglect of the extreme southeastern region. Norway gave financial assistance through its agency NORAD and provided Norconsult of Oslo as consulting engineers. The Royal Netherlands Harbor Works actually carried out the work and finished it inside 1,000 days, three months ahead of target.

Just like Warri, Calabar is hard to get at and has to be approached by an 80 kilometer access channel from the sea and up the narrow Calabar River.

Calabar can now take the pressure off Lagos and give more direct access to the markets of the eastern and northeastern states. Imports wastefully unloaded previously at Port Harcourt can now pass more quickly and cheaply to their destinations. Also the proximity of Calabar to rich agricultural lands should promote the volume of agricultural exports. From the landward side, access to the port area is easy and a short new road links with Calabar town's Western Avenue and so with the east and northeast road system. The Nigeria Ports Authority turns in a substantial profit — \$150 million.



Seaport control tower at Tin Can Island port in Lagos.



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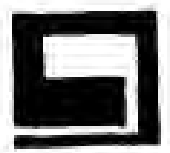
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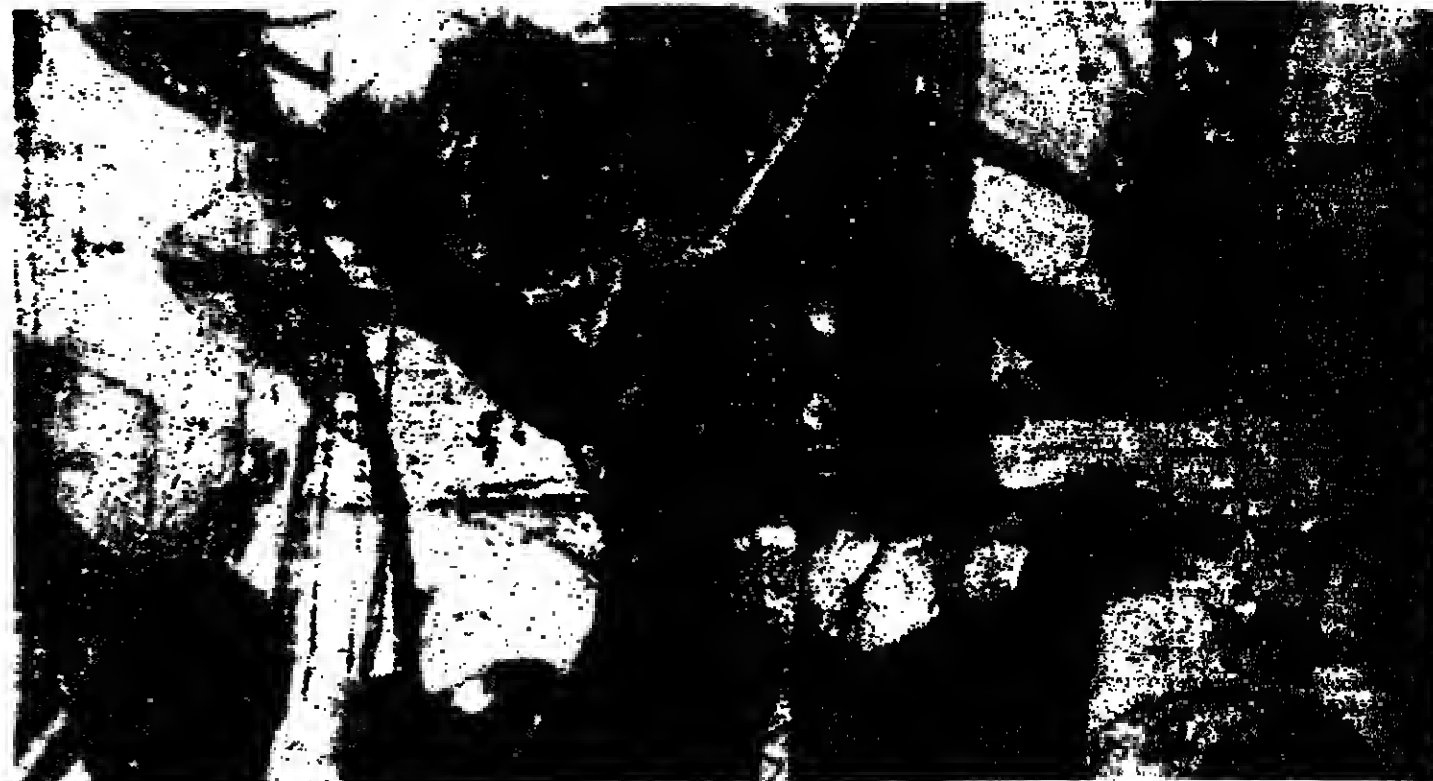
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## The 'Elephant of the Waters'



Surrounded by nets, a fisherman takes a breath before a dive in search of a prize catch at the Argungu Fishing Festival.

ON a bend of the Sokoto River near the village of Argungu in northwestern Nigeria, the fishing season begins each February with an elephant hunt. The prey is the *ghwan runa* or "elephant of the waters" in the Hausa language, a Nile perch that can grow to 6 feet in length and weigh as much as 300 pounds.

A wave of the local emir's handkerchief from the crowded viewing stand and the crack of a starter's pistol begin an often dangerous contest among 3,000 fishermen to see who can land the largest fish.

The men have traveled as far as 300 miles through Nigeria and neighboring Niger in mammy wagons and on foot to vie for the grand prize which often has been no more than a sturdy bicycle. Second prizes have included cheap transistor radios.

At the signal, the fishermen dash from an assembly point a quarter mile to the river's edge. A cloud of orange dust rises behind the runners. They shout madly and plunge into the river, each man

equipped with nothing more than a small wing-like net, a couple of gourds for floats and his bare hands.

February is the height of the dry season. The Sokoto River, generally a major tributary of the Niger, has been reduced to a chain of large pools, which prevent the fishes' escape from the 3,000 pairs of groping hands. The thrashing is furious among the black bodies and the silvery fish, the *lates niloticus* whose thick white meat along a single bone is considered fine eating. To make the catch, the fishermen drive their fists up through the gills and then kick for shore. Disputes between fishermen are settled by stewards from dugout canoes.

Neither the catch nor the money it can bring for selling it nor even the chance of winning a bicycle is the real draw for the contestants. Prestige is the big award, for the fishing skill of the winner brings him membership in a council of elders. These men judge the event each year, but more importantly, they

govern all fishing in the area during the rest of the year.

The festival draws thousands of spectators to Argungu, an undistinguished collection of red mud huts with no more than a few thousand inhabitants. The crowd is colorful. The men in long robes and turbans and the few women free enough to appear outside of purdah in gaily colored fabrics. In the grandstand sit the local aristocracy and luminaries like the Sultan of Sokoto.

### Serious Concern

The fishing event, scheduled for Feb. 23 this year, is but the kickoff to a weeklong festival where nightly competitions of musicians and singers are held. Accompanied by drum and high-pitched flute, singers praise the harvest, the waters, the local political leaders.

Behind all the festivity is a serious concern — conservation. On the border of the Sahara, this region is always at the edge of drought. The river is life-sustaining not only for the fishing but also for irrigation. In the early 1970s when

drought was cutting across the tire Sabel, a area of 2.5 million square miles including nine countries, northern Nigeria did not escape its effects.

The drought created trouble throughout the society. The products of Sokoto, 60 miles upstream were among the victims and were indirectly blamed for the lack of rainfall. Religious leaders claim the drought was a result of low moral conduct of the people.

Withholding the rain was Allah's way of showing harsh displeasure. Chief clerics, according to the Sultan of Sokoto, were the unmarried women of the town, whether they were prostitutes or not. The emir ordered the women to marry leave town. Many left for a week or two. It did not rain immediately.

The approach of the generation old Argungu fishing festival is more scientific. By allowing fishing after the February competition year, the council of elders hope that the elephant of the waters completes its reproductive cycle.

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# Foreign Companies See a Potential Bonanza for Investments

By Linda Bernier

IRIS (IHT) — Despite the problems of political and economic instability in developing countries, many foreign companies see Nigeria as a potential bonanza investment, especially since the very and exploitation of high-potential oil in the 1960s.

Because of the importance of Nigeria's market and its resources it is the most promising investment in Black Africa," said an investment banking official with long interests in Nigeria.

Nigeria could replace Iran as the country with the most potential for investment by foreign investors," said a large French investor, who many businessmen interviewed, asked not to be identified.

Nigeria's huge population, its oil reserves, its rich agricultural resources — cocoa, groundnuts, oil seeds, soya beans, cotton and rubber — and its quickly

growing industrial sector — with more than 2,000 firms, make it the richest country in black Africa and one of the most appealing to foreign investors.

Although inadequate statistical information makes it almost impossible to determine the amount of foreign holdings in Nigeria, officials assert that almost all industrial ventures are tied to foreign capital. There are only a handful of large, wholly-owned Nigerian firms, such as the IBRU group with 50-60 industrial and commercial activities, said a banking official.

The largest amount of investment comes from Britain, followed by the United States — with an investment of \$383 million at the end of 1978, \$262 million in petroleum, \$46 million in manufacturing and \$49 million in trade, according to U.S. embassy sources, then West Germany and France — with about 75 firms implanted.

Although the Americans are particularly visible in the petroleum

sector, the Germans in construction and engineering and the French — with Michelin and Peugeot assembling plants — in the automobile industry, foreign investment runs the gamut of industrial ventures and, said a large French investor, "there is potential to develop in almost every field — transportation, ports, health, mines, chemicals, general manufacturing."

While foreign investment declined during the civil war with Biafra in the late 1960s, except for the development of the textile industry by Hong Kong and Indian interests, a boom in foreign investment followed the oil crisis in 1973, which did not slack off until the second Nigerianization decree in 1976, further limiting the percentage for foreign control of companies.

## Cottage Industries

The first decree, in 1973, allowed companies to be either 100 percent, 60 percent or 40 percent foreign owned, with a preponderance of Nigerian interests in those firms re-

quiring the least amount of technological input.

In 1976 the percentage of Nigerian interest was increased, with 100 percent Nigerian control in almost all retail trade and small, cottage industries, 60 percent control in industries that were formerly only 40 percent Nigerian controlled and only a small number of highly technical industries under complete foreign control.

Some companies were put off by these decrees, not uncommon in many developing countries — IBM and the First National City Bank, for example, disbanded their operations. Others were discouraged by the stringent policy on dividends, which, because of inflation and low capital reserve problems, could not exceed 16 2/3 percent of a company's capital until April, last year, when the policy was relaxed.

Some companies tried to circumvent Nigerianization by investing a minimum of capital and recouping on imports, noted a banking official. But since last April the govern-

ment has embarked on a policy to encourage the development of local industry by imposing more stringent import restrictions and prohibitions as well as tariff incentives for goods that can be produced in Nigeria.

Most foreign investment is geared toward large-scale projects because of Nigeria's needs and government policy, which requires a minimum of about \$263,000. The government is eager to attract such investment, according to Nigerian officials.

"There has been a fairly liberal investment policy provided you accept the principle of joint ventures. And it seems that the new government, which appears to be rather conservative, will adopt an even more liberal policy," said a large French investor.

Many investors are encouraged

by Nigeria's decision, after badly mismanaging its oil revenues following the 1973 oil crisis, to develop its large agricultural sector while still encouraging industrial development to provide for more even economic growth.

Officially there are no particular advantages to investors from the sterling area, although anglophone investors have an advantage in familiarity with the language and legal system and exchange controls are more stringent for francophone investors than in francophone African countries.

While some investors, looking back on Nigeria's troubled history in tribal rivalries and civil war, question the strength and stability of the new civilian government, others are optimistic about Nigeria's political stability.

"It is very rare to see a military

regime peacefully turn over power to a civilian government," said an investor in Nigeria, adding that "in any case, if there is any trouble the military boys will come back and they weren't so bad for investment anyway."

"We just have to wait until the new budget comes out in April to see what policies favoring investment will be like," said a banking official who believes it is still too soon to make predictions about Nigeria's prospective investment climate.

Foreign investment is not without its problems in Nigeria. As in any developing country, investors complain about the lack of adequate infrastructure and qualified technicians and cumbersome administrative procedures.

"In Nigeria no one wants to take

responsibility for making a decision for which he can be blamed. It has one of the worst bureaucracies in Africa," said a foreign investor.

"There are no major problems [for foreigners] in Nigeria. Everything is a problem. Your telex isn't working, you have problems with the telephone, your staff isn't satisfied, you have to pay high salaries to get expatriates to work there," said a French investor.

But, with an increasing number of Nigerians being trained abroad and the government push for industrial development, Nigeria provides investors with among the best opportunities in Africa for profitable ventures.

"It's a country where the best and most able win out. And," said the French investor, "if we don't help Nigeria develop, others will."

## Goals of Democracy Renewed

(Continued from page 75)

control appears to be improving. Malaria still stands as a major cause of infant mortality.

With all the difficulties, Nigerians are optimistic that they establish the sort of stability they need to ensure that the benefits of the oil wealth will be felt throughout the society. The success return to civilian rule is an encouraging sign in itself.

Although Nigeria is the world's biggest oil exporter and the continent holds a majority stake in oil-producing companies, few Nigerians have benefited directly in the boom.

President Shagari's plan to remedy the inequities is broad: "Our economic policies will be predicated on the need to enhance national sufficiency in food production, development of export manufactures, utilizing nationally produced materials and development of iron and steel resources." He is also promising to move quickly in agriculture, saying the

government would "accomplish its 'green revolution' program by raising the allocation of funds for agriculture at both federal and state levels."

In pursuing his goals, President Shagari has perhaps one advantage that political and military leaders who tried to rule Nigeria in the past did not have. Where once the country was split into three main areas, the north, west and south, Nigeria today consists of 19 states, each of which the president can deal with by turns.

No longer will specific policies confront overwhelming opposition from one section of the country or another.

## Adjusted Boundaries

The military government that took power away from Gen. Gowon in 1975 created seven more states to meet the new demands, and adjusted all state boundaries. It also decreed that the previous naming of states by reference to their location such as North-West and South-East should give way to identifications

with geographical features, mostly rivers, to help further to weaken the old "north-south" division. For example when North-West State was divided, it became Sokoto State and Niger State.

The former military government also prohibited further agitation for new states. But the agitation has revived under civilian rule, and although the new civilian constitution intentionally makes the creation of new states a difficult process, two or three more seem likely to emerge.

Other steps taken to break the hold of old loyalties within regions included establishment of a totally new local government system, selection of a site for a new federal capital, establishment of a reformed and expanded trade union movement, delimitation of new constituencies for federal and state elections, registration of voters (more than 47 million names were recorded), and a "purge" of the public services (although nobody now suggests that such action can eliminate, or do more than deter, corruption).

The army, which numbered

about 250,000 at the end of the civil war, has been run down to about 150,000 and the trend is expected to continue until it falls below 100,000. In the meantime, a large housing program has freed nearly all the civilian or temporary accommodation in which the army was billeted so that the expression "back to barracks" can be taken literally. The army is also being modernized and recently received as shipment of tanks from the Soviet Union.

In time for the campaign for the general election in August, political parties, banned since January, 1966, were legalized and five secured registration under the rigid rules of the new constitution. Although the new parties denied connections with those that operated before 1966, links were detected or suspected.

In the end, although the turnout of voters was disappointing, the elections went off peacefully. Allegations of "rigging" by losers have been numerous, but few suppose that malpractice significantly affected the results.

The man Nigeria picked to lead them brings wide political experience to the job. President Shagari was a senior federal minister before 1966, and was federal commissioner of finance under the military regime. He was a teacher in his native north and also has written a geography of Northern Nigeria in Hausa verse.

The president's party, the National Party of Nigeria, or NPN, although having the largest number of seats of any party, had no command in either house of the National Assembly. It took prolonged negotiations with the other parties before he could put together a majority and select a government.

The president would be the first one to admit he is in no position to exercise power autocratically even if he wished to do so. Because its votes and its victories were so widely distributed throughout the country, President Shagari's party lays claim to being a truly national one.

## Oil Revenues to Soar in 1980

(Continued from page 75)

disagreed by NNPC, under which it is to all oil will remain with the company. NNPC will thus employ drilling contractors to develop some of the fields which have already been made which could not have been exploited commercially in the past.

However, NNPC's progress in development of its own areas depend considerably on the cess with which it is able to build its own specialized staff.

Since its formation in 1977 it has been troubled by the difficulty of recruiting qualified personnel, and had to cut its cloth accordingly. This reason, also, Nigeria is likely to be heavily dependent for the foreseeable future on its joint ventures with the major oil companies.

The nationalization of BP's assets August has been confirmed as a move of political motivation and as such was an ideal opportunity from the government's view, as BP's partner, Shell, provided all the expatriate staff for the time and no production was lost result.

NNPC, with an 80 percent share in the fields formerly held by Shell and with a 60 percent holding in other producing groups, is now major force on the market for African oil. At the present 2.2 million barrels a day production rate, it is selling over 1.5 million barrels a

day on its own account — oil which is grossing the state company nearly \$45 million a day.

Its importance is enhanced by the fact that Nigeria's light, low-sulphur content crude is particularly sought after by U.S. refiners, who designed their capacity to treat "sweet" domestic crudes and who run into air pollution difficulties using higher sulphur Gulf crudes.

The state oil company is also the vehicle for the government's ventures into oil refining and petrochemicals. NNPC holds an 80 percent share in the country's first refinery, built by Shell and BP but now without BP participation, at Port Harcourt. It also owns 100 percent of the plant commissioned in September, 1978, at Warri to produce the 100,000 barrels a day.

Refining capacity of 160,000 barrels a day is, however, inadequate to meet the needs of Nigerian consumption. This was estimated by OPEC to have been 154,000 barrels a day in 1978, but this figure amounted to an increase of no less than one-third over the previous year and consumption by now could be approaching 200,000 barrels a day.

Due this year is a second refinery of 100,000 barrels a day located at Kaduna. For a while exports of refined products might be feasible.

Plans for the development of a petrochemicals industry have been slower to come to fruition, but com-

tracts for a number of plants to be built at the sites of the three refineries have now been awarded. They amount to a lowering of sights from the earlier project for a world-scale ethylene cracker and full range of subsidiaries, but might prove to be a more practical alternative. Instead, there will be a synthetic detergent plant, a carbon black plant, a polypropylene plant, and a large fertilizer complex.

Like many other OPEC countries, Nigeria has been slow to realize the potential of its natural gas reserves. But there are signs that long-standing plans for the export of liquefied gas are at last moving forward, with the announcement that NNPC is to finalize draft sale contracts with four utility companies in the United States.

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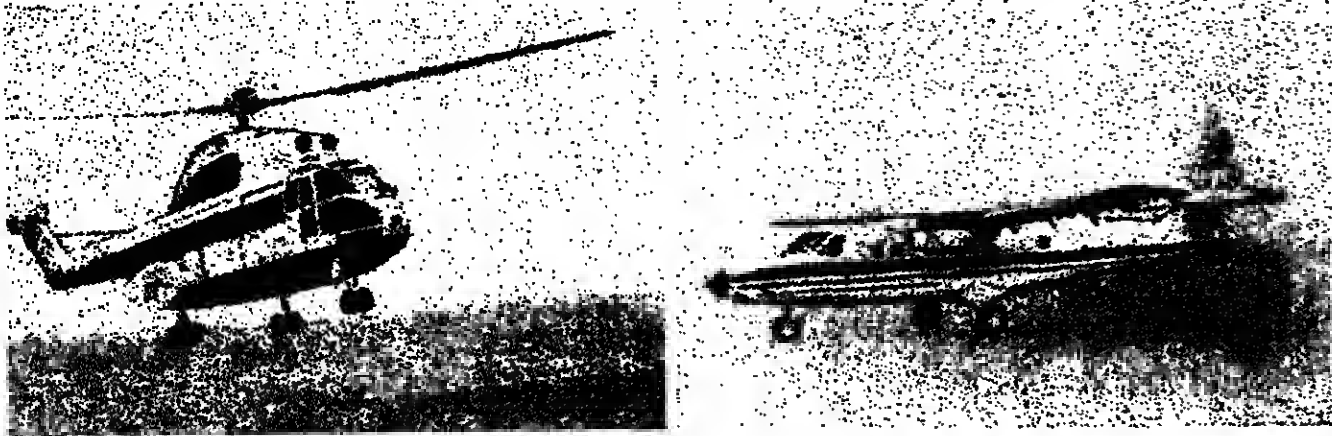
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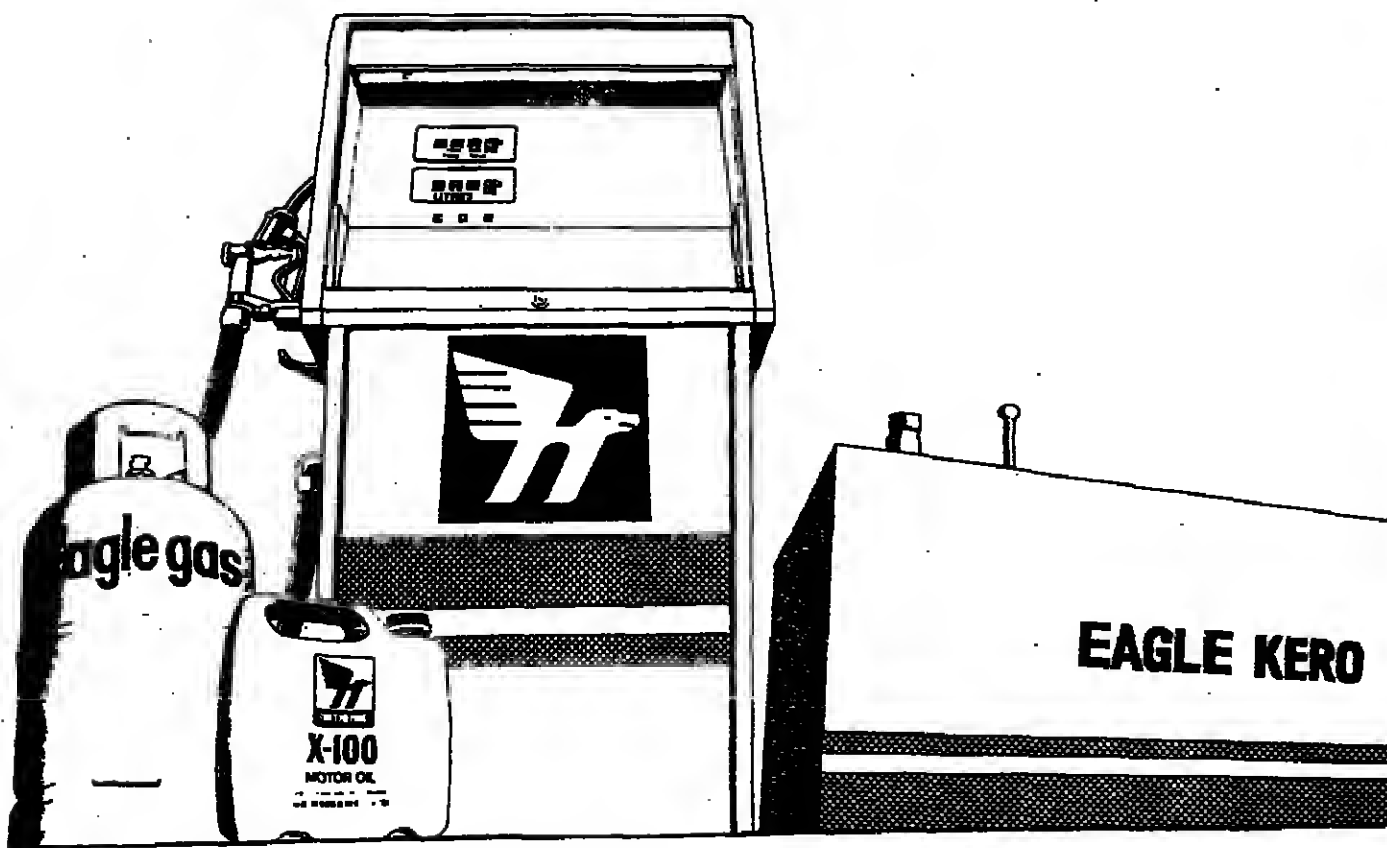
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## Travel: Business vs. Pleasure

By Jean Symington Hage

**L**AGOS (HT) — It's difficult to talk of tourism in Nigeria in the present tense. Travelers come for business, not pleasure, and the tourist industry has long been neglected.

Despite past attempts to develop tourism, including an allocation of 1 million naira to each of the country's 19 states by the former military government, and another 250,000 million naira to the Nigerian Tourist Board, the industry suffers from a lack of government policies and the failure to recognize what a successful travel industry can mean financially and socially.

With its petroleum wealth to fall back on, Nigeria has been slower than its neighbors to exploit tourist revenues. But industry spokesmen are now stressing that development of tourism could be a critical step in diversifying Nigeria's economy, and could help to become a major earner of foreign exchange. Politically, an increase in the amount of domestic travel within Nigeria is seen as "an important instrument for national integration," as a government official put it.

In West Africa the countries attracting visitors are the francophone ones offering package resort tours to Europeans looking for sun and surf as well as the cuisine and comforts of home. They get what they want for less than the Côte d'Ivoire cannot compete with Africa's big three in tourism — Kenya, Morocco and Tunisia.

### Litanies of Complaints

At present in Nigeria a good 90 percent of the so-called "tourists" are businessmen whose litanies of complaints about accommodation and services are becoming legend. Their tales no doubt discourage potential travelers who can do without the passport, currency and customs complications at Murtala Muhammed Airport and the prospects of paying upward of \$70 a night for a room without air conditioning or water.

The high costs of hotel rooms and transportation difficulties also curb domestic tourism for middle-income earners. And as for Nigerians of means, they are still more likely to vacation in Britain or the United States.

The average Nigerian doesn't appreciate what he has at home, according to an official. He may well have added that international tourists do not usually take the time or effort to discover what this country has to offer. What encourages optimism, however, is the tremendous potential in Nigeria for successful tourism.

Any Nigerian or seasoned foreigner living here will assure a stranger here that Lagos is not Ni-



The palace of the Alafin of Oyo in Oyo state.

geria. To really appreciate this country and its people, a traveler has to leave the humid hyperactivity of the capital city and head for smaller centers.

Such a visitor will enjoy seeing the calabash carvers in Oyo, the bronze workers in Benin, the tie-dye pits in the walled city of Kano, or the artists' colony at Oshogbo. In the predominantly Moslem north, religious festivals are pageants of color and custom as turbaned horsemen pay their respects to their traditional rulers. And although it has little comparison with the Kenyan safari parks, the Yankari game reserve in Bauchi State offers the chance to see elephants, duikers, waterbucks and bush pigs. Even more pleasant is the chance to soak in the park's Wild Warm Springs where baboons swing through the overhanging trees provide entertainment.

In the southeast the Obudu Cattle Ranch on the Obudu Plateau has for years been a cool retreat in the hot season, as has the more central Jos Plateau with its imposing outcroppings of rock and rust-red soil. Nigeria is not lacking in attractions. What are lacking are facilities and services.

Officials are now examining these problem areas with the assistance of the World Tourism Organization, a UN agency based in Madrid that concentrates its expertise in devel-

oping countries. In December, a WTO consultant completed a six-week tour of all states in order to establish an inventory of tourist resources in the country, evaluate them and assess the needs for manpower of the hotel and catering industry.

Hotel and catering services earn the lion's share in the industry and currently employ about 50,000 people. According to Mr. J.L. Aeschlimann, the consultant conducting the WTO study, there is a need for 400-500 more qualified persons a year. The federal government has supported the Nigerian Hotel and Catering School since 1969; Nigerian Hotels Ltd. has operated a training school in Lagos since 1974; polytechnic schools incorporated catering and tourism studies, and still more training facilities are required. Dr. Aeschlimann recommends that a centrally located national training center be established to meet this high demand for staff.

### Extended Stay

He said the industry in Nigeria should concentrate its efforts on the market that already exists — the businessman who has come to Nigeria to work, but who might be tempted to extend his stay several days if worthwhile attractions are available.

He is less optimistic about the

prospects for "mass" tourism in this country. His skepticism boils down to the relationship between "quality and price." Hotel, food and travel expenses are so prohibitive here that it costs the European or North American tourist half as much to holiday in Kenya. Thus Dr. Aeschlimann wants to see the industry focus on the businessman, rather than trying to attract travelers looking for two-week vacation packages. Nigeria would not necessarily be losing as far as tourist revenue is concerned, he added. Even if foreign income cannot be greatly increased, a better domestic industry would encourage more Nigerians to spend their money at home rather than abroad.

Accommodation is another major problem. Estimates put the number of hotel rooms in Nigeria at roughly 25,000, one-third of which are considered international class rooms. In major centers, up to 70 percent of the best rooms are permanently occupied by people caught in the housing shortage, leaving just 3 percent for visitors.

In a few years the overcrowding in Lagos hotels at least will be relieved by several new complexes and additions. Still in the planning stages are a 500-room hotel at Ebute-Metta proposed by the Nigerian Railway Corp.; the Duba Hotel chain is planning to build hotel on the Badagry Expressway and the Eko Hotel will be adding an extension. The most unusual proposal comes from a German company, Maritim Hotels, which plan to anchor a refurbished ship in Lagos Harbor and operate a 600-room floating hotel.

Even with more hotel rooms, the chances of their being cheaper are slim. The capital investment per hotel room in Nigeria is one of the highest in the world and won't drop until building costs are cut and furnishings can be locally produced at reasonable prices. There is an obvious need for a wider range of facilities, from tourist camps to guest houses and more deluxe hotels. As for regulations governing the standards and price ranges for all types of facilities.

### Transportation

Since KLM's takeover of Nigerian Airways, the handover of the railroads to Indian management and the federal government's announced intentions to spend another 253 million naira on roads throughout the country, transportation networks promise to improve markedly. The biggest handicap communications. When you cannot telegraph for a reservation or find working telephone it is pretty hard to assure yourself a room at the end of your journey. The insecurity adds a certain sense of mystery to your trip but does little for your sense of humor.

Whenever the shortcomings of the Nigerian tourist industry are discussed, the government is called upon to give tourism a much higher priority in development planning. A major step was an Obasanjo government decree in 1976 establishing the Nigerian Tourist Board which got underway in 1978.

The board's chairman, Alhaji Ibrahim Kauru, said that tourists had not gained the prominence deserved because of a "lack of knowledge of how to make best use of our tourism potentials, lack of good tourism planning and development strategies, and above all, inadequacy in the importance attached to tourism by our country."

A great many future plans are based on Dr. Aeschlimann's preliminary study. As he puts it, "I visit was only to find 'the pulse' of tourism in Nigeria. He is recommending that a multidisciplinary team return for more comprehensive research on what he has set priorities. The first is a master plan for tourism in Nigeria; the second the establishment of a training program to meet the staffing needs of the hotel industry."

Already he has sensed a great awareness in government circles the importance of tourism to the country.

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## Freedom Tests Press

By Averil M. Lukic

OS (IHT) — In the months following the national elections, Nigerian newspapers, which until now have been rigorously shielded from criticism by the government, began testing the water of press freedom. It found things could still quickly come to a

Nigerian press in general and the Daily Times in particular had begun to comment freely on national salaries that the new government representatives and senators had been prompted to vote for. Reaction was immediate and hot. How some legislators wanted to know, were the main news executives at the papers earning?

On the Daily Times to stem the controversy by suggesting changes could be made in the pay package. The government suggestion provoked more like a threat since 60 percent of Times stock is government held.

new official relaxation toward the domestic press apparently does not apply to foreign correspondents to report on Nigeria. Few Western reporters allowed visas, which have been extremely difficult since the civil war ended a decade ago.

Officials have encouraged Western news organizations to get their information from the News Agency of Nigeria, the national news agency set up in 1978 after several years of planning.

Freedom of the press is not explicitly enshrined in the constitution, although freedom of expression is. Responsible journalists are taking an easy-does-it attitude. They fear losing in one fell swoop whatever gains that can be made over a period of time and thus they prefer not to challenge the government at every turn. However, there are exceptions. By partisan papers like the Nigerian Tribune have no hesitation in launching bitter attacks on personalities in the present civilian and previous military governments.

All media men are happy about the possibility of the Tribune's will become a trend. Audit of the Federal Radio Corp. of Nigeria by a meeting of the national executive of Nigerian Union of Journalists, that journalists showing themselves to be their own worst enemy in the cause of press freedom. "We have," he said, "only violated the ethics of journalism by gross irresponsibility that border on a total and absolute disregard for the continued survival of this nation."

President Shagari, too, felt obliged to issue a mild rebuke. This is all the more surprising since he has a strong advocate of press freedom and has regularly — both during and after his election campaign — told newspapermen of his keen regard for freedom. He told media executives at a recent conference that newspaper activities over the past few years had not gone unnoticed, although they had allowed to have a "field day" without any restraint from government. This was because his policy was to encourage the press to "exercise restraint before censure and not restraint by punishment."

If the internal repression has not been wiped out, it has clearly eased. The president, in responding to Nigerian journalists who complained of government "harassment," were told they must themselves worthy of the press freedom they

were continually talking about. Freedom brought with it obligations. "Lots of things you complain about are of your own making," he said, and criticized a certain section of the press for trying to run down people with whose views they did not agree.

A shackle remaining on the press is a the Nigerian Press Council, a self-regulatory body that was established by military decree at the end of 1978. The council has wide powers, including enforcement of a "code of conduct," to define the duties of journalists in maintaining "in spirit as well as deed the unity and stability of Nigeria."

Even if press freedom is not separately entrenched in the constitution, a reporter has the same rights to freedom of expression as any other Nigerian. As the Constitution Drafting Committee put it: "It is felt that the right to freedom of expression is one of the most basic rights in any democratic society, and it should be a right to which every Nigerian should be entitled, whether or not he is employed by the press."

It is, perhaps, not surprising that newspapers should interpret "freedom of expression" to mean freedom to attack constituted authority, for Nigeria's newspaper history is one of opposition to government and British rule.

After independence, the nation's newspapers had to adapt themselves to a new role, although they often relapsed into purely partisan invective — a trend being repeated today. The principal newspapers in Nigeria are government-owned, although private enterprise is set to play an increasing role. Besides the majority share holding in the Daily Times the government holds more than 50 percent of the New Nigerian.

There are seven newspapers in Nigeria owned by state governments, and now that politics has returned it will be interesting to see if they will reflect the different political complexes of their governments.

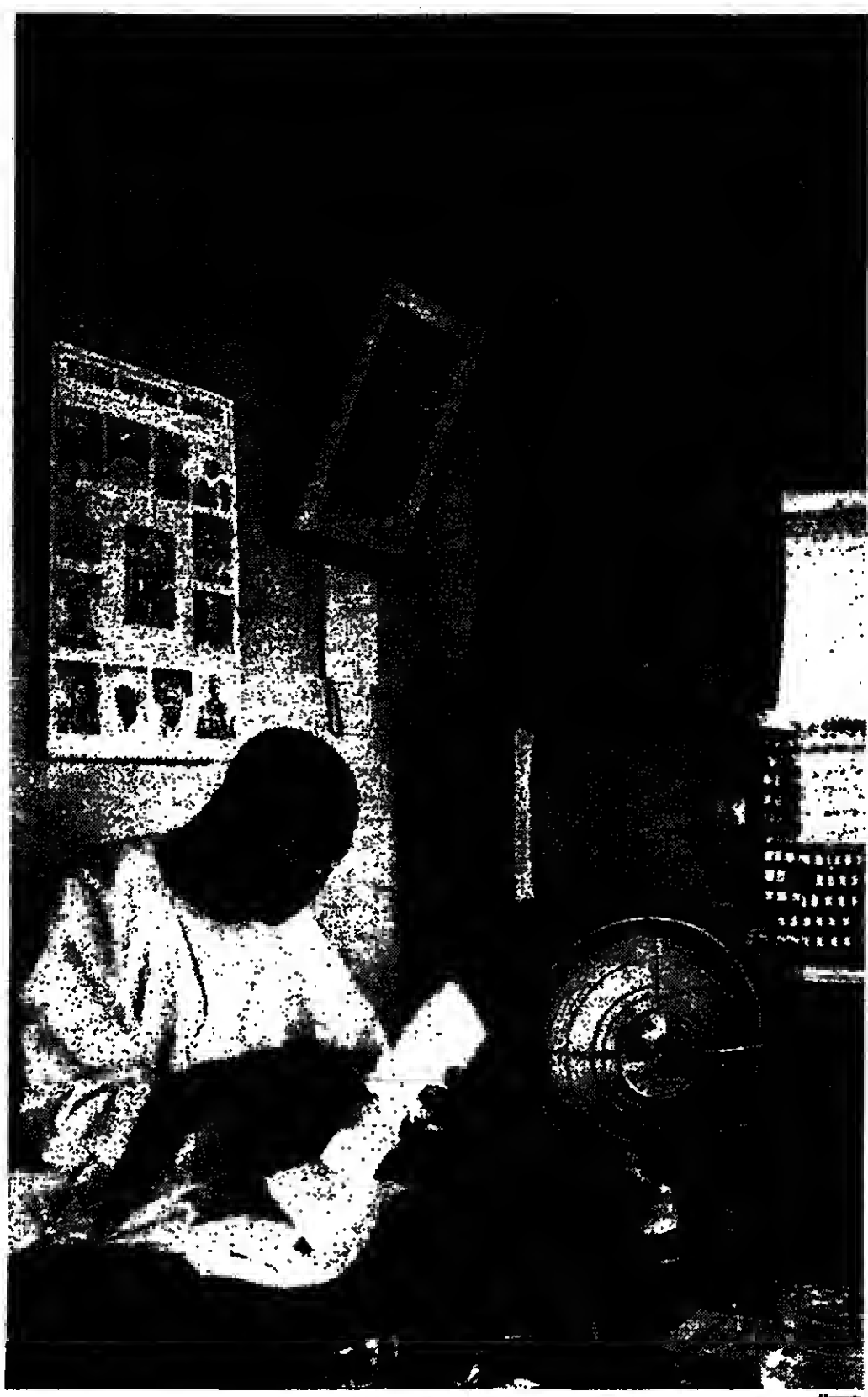
### Scene Never Dull

The test for newspapers under the democracy is whether they will really exercise "freedom with responsibility," or whether they will degenerate into a gutter press, mud-slinging in whatever direction their political inclinations take them. One thing is certain. With over a dozen daily newspapers and many more weekly and monthly publications the newspaper scene will never be dull.

The Nigerian press is often colorful, with splashy headlines and lurid stories. Some time ago, one popular daily ran a story about a strike of sanitation workers. Its headline read: "Nightsoil Workers On Sitdown Strike."

Although the government has only indirect control over the press, it does have the final say where the national radio and television network are concerned. The state governments, too, have their radio stations, and in some cases, TV — vastly uneven in quality. Under the military, radio was often more informative than newspapers. The National Television Authority displayed strict impartiality during the election campaign. Each presidential candidate and party had the same amount of air time and there was much political commentary and analysis.

Another important development in the Nigerian media has been the establishment of a national news agency, the News Agency of Nigeria. Several years in the planning, it began a comprehensive news service at the end of 1978.



A western state chief at his desk at home in Ilesha.

## Delicate Balance

### Leaders of Religions Show Mutual Esteem

LAGOS (IHT) — Although none of the five parties officially registered to contest last year's elections had a religious base, in a few constituencies religious differences are said to have surfaced.

Religion cannot be entirely excluded from politics. For example, the issue which appeared to generate most heat in the Constituent Assembly which finally approved Nigeria's present constitution concerned the demand of some Moslems for a Sharia Court of Appeal at the federal level. This was not a major matter in itself. The Sharia Courts operating in Moslem areas in northern states administer only civil law and in criminal matters Moslems obey the same law as other Nigerians. But some non-Moslem politicians saw the demand as a political one and resisted it fiercely, and successfully.

The constitution provides for freedom for the practice of any religion, for the freedom to propagate a religion, and even for the citizen's right to change his religion. All these rights are enforceable in the High Court.

More important, however, than such formal freedom is the personal tolerance shown by Nigerians. The president is a devout Moslem, who has written a book about Usman Dan Fodio, the Fulani divine who helped spread Islam across much of Nigeria.

### Running Mates

The vice president is a Christian. Of the four defeated presidential candidates two were Christian, two Moslem. The vice presidential candidates two were Christian, two Moslem. The vice presidential running mates of the Moslem candidates were Christians, and the running mate of one of the Christians was a Moslem.

According to what figures are available, 47 percent of the Nigerian people are Moslem. The rest are divided between Christianity and traditional religions, although both Islam and Christianity were advancing, and few educated or influential people would not claim to be either Christian or Moslem.

It is not only the balance inside Nigeria as a whole which is remarkable. While certain areas of the far north are solidly Moslem and certain areas in the eastern states are solidly Christian, the Yoruba people of the west are divided in religion in almost the same proportions as is the nation as a whole, the division sometimes affecting individual families without causing tensions. And some of the states created out of the former Northern Region, once regarded as "Moslem," such as Plateau, have majorities following traditional religions, together with substantial Moslem and Christian communities. And in Lagos itself, with its Catholic and Anglican cathedrals, Moslems may be in a majority.

Christianity long enjoyed the prestige of the religion of the colonial rulers. Its churches were virtually the only providers of Western education and hospitals over huge areas, and often seemed more important than the distant government. But in the great northern Emirates their activities were circumscribed, and the British, whose colonial push met its strongest resistance in the Moslem north, showed respect for Islam and its leaders.

One result was the relatively slow advance of Western education among Moslems, although among them a degree of literacy in Arabic was far more widespread than other Nigerians realized. Islam, however, as well as Christianity, absorbed some practices from traditional religion. And to this day traditional festivals and rituals are a feature of Nigerian life.

The Sultan of Sokoto, the leader not only of Nigeria's Moslems but of many Moslem communities beyond Nigeria, recently emphasized the compatibility of religion and science. He also underlined the importance of education, so long as it did not lead to moral deterioration (as many parents — and not only Moslems — in Nigeria fear it does). But he urged all Nigerians to find in their various indigenous traditions the inspiration they needed for progress.

The members  
of  
**West African Breweries Limited**  
and  
**Associated Breweries and Company Limited,**  
*brewers of Top beer and Mackeson Stout*  
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*joint good wishes to the Federal and States*  
*Governments in their efforts towards continued*  
*peace, progress and prosperity for Nigeria.*



The Quality Beer.





# Revitalization of Agriculture Planned Within the Next 5 Years

By Stanley Egbuchukwu  
LAGOS (IHT) — The year 1990 has been set by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization for the countries of Africa to achieve self-sufficiency in food. Its forecast can only be achieved if the governments take drastic measures.

Ten years, however, is too distant for Nigeria, which contains a quarter of Africa's population. The federal government is determined to revitalize agriculture within five years, and is optimistic of being able to meet this target. It also plans to return the country to its pre-eminent status in certain crops within seven years. This is not just an election promise.

With "food" and "shelter" as the twin symbols of President Shagari's party, and his own personal commitment to a "green revolution," (he is himself a farmer) Nigerians will be looking for results.

In December, the minister of agriculture, Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau, announced short-term measures to "remove the constraints which hamper food production."

## Corn and Rice

Of the 18.3 million naira earmarked for this program, 13.3 million go to support crop production, 3 million to livestock and the balance to fisheries. Corn and rice are seen as the most significant crops, and a campaign has been started to boost their production. During 1978 alone Nigeria imported 515,000 tons of rice and over 100,000 tons of corn.

Demand for corn is increased because of the growing poultry industry and demand for rice continues to rise despite the 37 percent increase in local production that year. A farm storage program is also being launched in collaboration with the ministry of science and technology, the FAO and state governments to reduce after-harvest crop losses, currently estimated at between 20 and 30 percent.

Ways are also being worked out to enable farmers to benefit more from the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme. Through this plan, loans to farmers by commercial banks are guaranteed by the government up to 75 percent. In 1978-79 banks were required to grant 6 percent of their loans to agriculture and to deposit any shortfall with the central bank at no interest, and the plan was established to encour-

age banks to meet this target. By October, 1978, more than 100 loans, worth about 4.3 million naira, had been given to farmers.

The following year the governor of the central bank, Ola Vincent, admitted that the 6 percent requirement was inadequate, although agriculture had not been able to absorb all the funds available. Apart from the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme, funds for farming come from the Agricultural and Co-operative Development Bank and the separate state government loan plans.

The six-year-old Nigerian Agricultural and Co-operative Bank increased its loans for 1978-79 by 48.5 million naira, a 136 percent increase over the previous year. Cumulative loan approvals totalled 335 million naira at the end of that year, covering 215 projects. In the year in which it received only 2 million naira from the government, the bank disbursed 44.6 million to 118 projects.

Central bank sources estimate loans during the 1977-78 crop season amounted to over 350 million naira. It seems that the main problem of the agricultural sector is finance, which means incentives for farmers. The problems are more complicated, and range from natural disasters to the effect on farming of the growing modern sector of the economy.

It is argued that agriculture suffered from neglect or inefficient management, particularly after the civil war. During the 1970s agriculture's performance was disappointing. The rate of growth, the volume and value of agricultural exports all declined. Agriculture's share in the value of exports declined from 78 percent in 1964 to only 4.6 percent in 1977. Groundnuts and palm oil had to be imported to meet local demand. Nigeria, once the world's second largest producer of cocoa beans, is now fourth. Rubber and other cash crops are also at a very low level of production.

Blame for the decline has been put on the development of oil resources. In the 1960s agriculture contributed 60 percent of Gross Domestic Product but emphasis soon shifted towards dependence on oil which in 1978-79 was expected to yield 75 percent of total government revenue.

Oil has also altered the traditional labor distribution. A high proportion of youths who would other-

wise have stayed in the rural areas moved to the towns attracted by wages offered in particular by the construction industry. It became almost impossible for peasant farmers to hire workers and the result was a shortage of food crops to feed the urban population.

## Value of Imports

In an attempt to overcome the shortage there was large-scale importation. In 1970 the value of food imports was 57.8 million naira. Six years later it was 439.4 million. In 1977 food imports were estimated at 790.3 million. The value of food imports in the first half of 1978 was equally staggering, but the situation improved with the introduction of import restrictions.

The first positive move toward increasing agricultural production was Operation Feed the Nation, launched in May, 1976. Many measures were taken, some of which have a long gestation period. There are, for example, the river basin development projects and the afforestation programs.

Storage facilities were to be improved and "grow your own" plans encouraged. By the second year of the program, experts began to see signs of recovery. Some critics, however, maintained that it was successful only in that it heightened people's awareness of the problems.

Some argued that it made no sense for people to grow their own food, especially in urban areas where only a few had access to cultivable land. The program chairman, Alhaji Imrama Yazidu, remarked at the time that OFN had begun to have a significant effect. Many retired people had taken up large-scale food production; many had well-established poultry farms.

The program caused a 5 percent increase above the annual growth rate for grains and fibers, bringing production in 1976 to 22.763 million tons, while food production also rose. The target increase for 1978 was 15 percent, but it is uncertain whether this was reached. The weather, the main condition given by the National Committee of OFN for attainment of the target was quite favorable.

The first crop of corn planted in the south performed well generally that year. There were few pests and diseases, except for the locust and grasshopper attacks in some northern states.

The major problem, however, was



Billboard near Lagos promotes bread as a basic food for Nigerians.

the hoarding of food by traders and middlemen. Food was also smuggled across the borders. Food prices did not reflect the overall increase in local production. But the cause of soaring prices was that although there had been marginal increases, domestic demand had grown beyond the annual rate of 5 percent. Wheat production, for example, rose to 7,000 tons, but accounted for only 1 percent of consumption.

Livestock farming suffered difficulties, despite the campaign. Cattle production has been unable to recover from the effects of the Sahelian drought of the mid-1970s and production has remained at 30 percent below that of the predrought period. The price of meat has been consequently high.

Things became worse when the government restricted meat imports, and the fishing industry took

advantage of the scarcity. Poultry farming developed rapidly until the government placed restrictions on the importation of grain to keep out disease. This caused some confusion as to whether there was an actual import ban or not, and toward the end of 1978 the poultry industry suffered a major setback because of the shortage of feed.

It is possible that with a dynamic approach to agriculture, Nigeria

could be self-sufficient in food and could even once again become a major exporter. The real problem, however, lies with cash crops and it is not clear whether local firms will ever be able to do without imports of raw materials again. Many fear to undertake manufacturing because they estimate that local raw materials could not sustain a viable venture.

In many cases the price of im-

ported raw materials is far che- This emphasizes the need to relate the interests of private entrepreneurs in agriculture and in food processing. This has long been identified as a major transfer of agricultural income from schedule 2 to schedule 1 Nigerian Enterprises (P.D. Decree, reducing the contribution of local participation to 40 percent.



## NNPC — THE FULLY INTEGRATED NATIONAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION OF NIGERIA ENGAGED IN ALL SECTIONS OF THE OIL INDUSTRY:—



### EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION:—

Working in collaboration for the development of the oil industry in an atmosphere of international cooperation, industrial stability and mutual confidence on joint ventures with

Shell International	over 7,858,000 acres of concessions
Mobil	" 643,000 " " "
Gulf	" 3,239,000 " " "
Agip	" 1,313,000 " " "
Texaco	" 755,000 " " "
Elf	" 755,000 " " "
Pan Ocean	" 248,000 " " "
and having exploration service contracts with	
Ashland	over 325,000 acres of concessions
Nigus	" 208,000 " " "
Elf	" 1,018,000 " " "
Agip Africa	" 5,167,000 " " "

The National Corporation has 35-40% interest in eleven multinational oil well service companies operating in Nigeria.

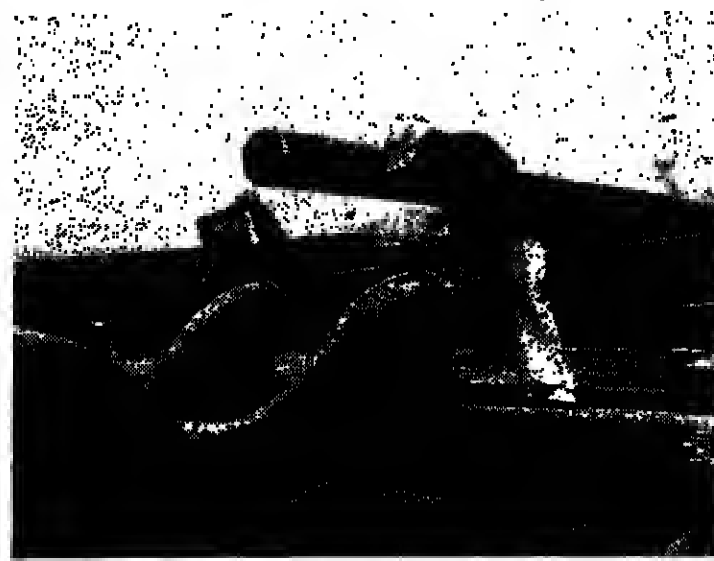
For development of in-house expertise NNPC has wholly owned exploration seismic party and carries out direct exploration and production activities which have resulted in significant hydrocarbon discoveries.

### REFINING AND PRODUCTS DISTRIBUTION:

To retain control over this vital sector of the national economy, NNPC has three refineries for domestic consumption in Port Harcourt with 60,000 b/d capacity, Warri 100,000 b/d and Kaduna 100,000 b/d. The refineries are linked to twenty petroleum products storage depots by a network of 3,000 kilometers of pipelines.

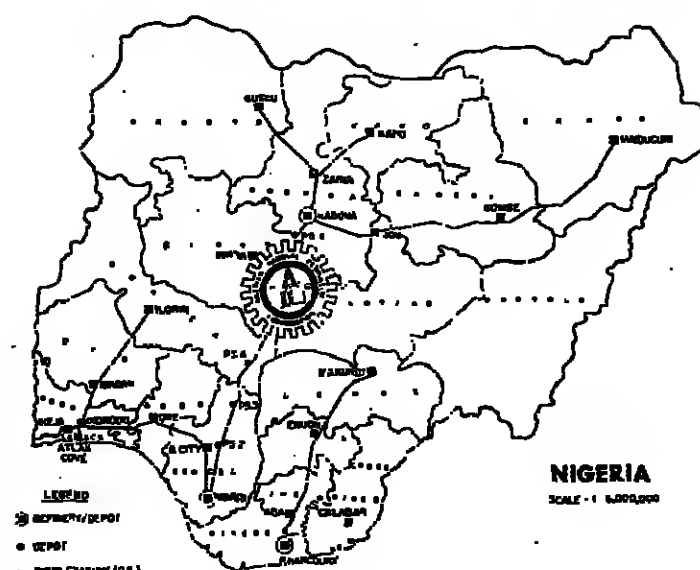
### DOMESTIC PRODUCTS MARKETING:

NNPC participates in distributing some 210,000 b/d of products through its 100% ownership of Unipetrol and 60% equity interests in African Petroleum and National Chemical and Marketing Company of Nigeria. The Nigerian public has 40% equity in Agip, Texaco, Mobil, African Petroleum and Total in keeping with the governments indigenization policy. The remaining 60% are held by foreign investors.



Pipeline welding at Ilorin Depot

NIGERIAN NATIONAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION  
NETWORK OF REFINERIES, PRODUCTS PIPELINES AND DEPOTS.



### GAS AND PETROCHEMICALS:

To further its international petroleum connections and maximize its returns, NNPC is moving into down stream activities through a consortium with Shell, BP, Elf, Agip and Phillips. It is developing the country's natural gas resources through the planned construction of a 2 billion cubic feet per day gas liquefaction plant. It has also embarked on a three phase petrochemicals industrial development.

### CRUDE OIL-MARKETING:

Nigeria is the 4th largest exporter in OPEC. NNPC satisfies 43 customers from U.S.A., Western Europe, Eastern Europe and 3rd World countries by direct, short and long-term contracts only. Its reliable supply of 1.4 million barrels per day to its customers helps to slake the world's thirst for sweet crude oil.

### THE NEXT DECADE:

The Nigerian government's responsiveness to changing situations into the oil scene and its readiness to provide incentives assures a very attractive future for foreign capital entrepreneurship and know-how in exploration and production in 6,343,300 million acres of unallocated tracts off-shore and on-shore as well as in furthering other gas, petrochemicals, engineering construction, and other development projects.

### ENQUIRIES:

Direct to:

**NNPC**, Falomo office complex  
PMB 12701, Ikoyi, Lagos,  
Cablegram: Napetcor  
Telex: 21126 NG  
Telephone: 681030, 681262, 681385







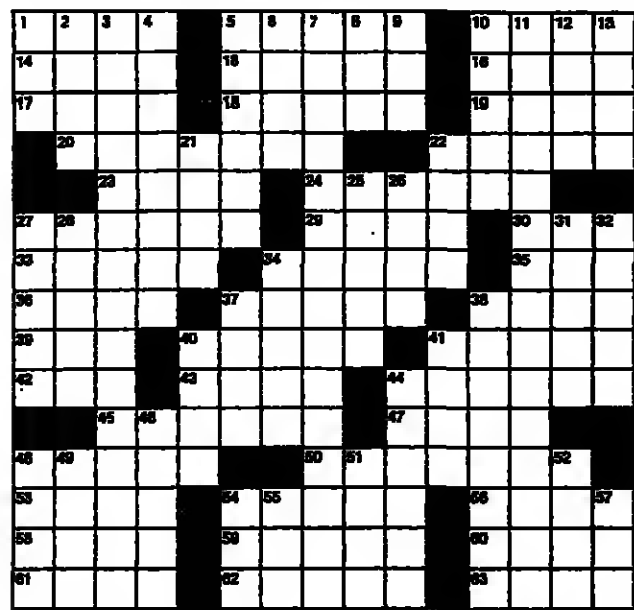






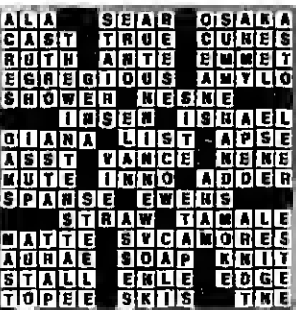


## CROSSWORD By Eugene T. Maleska



- ACROSS**
- 1 Food fish  
5 Actress Paget  
10 Biblical brother  
14 Prefix with date or name  
15 Articulate  
16 "Adam"  
17 Greek portico  
18 Plant part  
19 Soviet city  
20 Gives in  
21 "Girl"  
22 Tropical nut  
24 Acrobatic feats  
27 Fabric from Angora goats  
28 Spirit  
29 Boutique item  
30 At (mystified)  
34 Come in second at Belmont  
35 Wedding words  
36 Trapping trophy  
37 Robust
- DOWN**
- 1 ——— relief  
2 Rectangular pier  
3 Capital city  
4 Littoral area  
5 Himalayan cedar  
6 Building part  
7 Capital city  
8 Electrical unit  
9 Placid drink  
10 Stirring  
11 Capital city  
12 Delightful spot  
13 Dutch painter: 1618-80  
14 Ivy League  
15 Punish  
16 Peculiarly  
17 "Dialogues" man  
18 Like certain trimming  
19 Bird's-eye  
20 City in New York  
21 Do-nothing  
22 Exclamation of pleasure  
23 Trash, to lagoon  
24 Neighbor of Cambodia  
25 Wisdom  
26 Type of bag  
27 Sloping way  
28 Soft shade  
29 Establish  
30 Biblical book  
31 Priestly cloak  
32 Formerly  
33 ——— Chandler, ex-Yankee pitcher  
34 Curmudgeon  
35 Palindromic feminine name  
37 Porker's pad

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

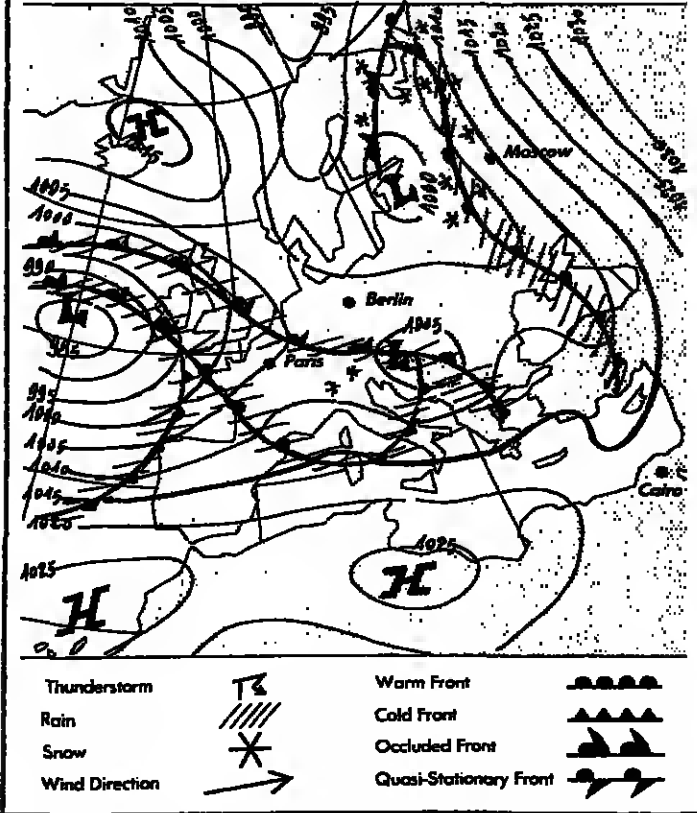


## WEATHER

C	F		C	F	
ALGARVE	14-27	Fair	MADRID	8-16	Foggy
AMSTERDAM	7-15	Shower	MIAMI	19-26	Fair
ANKARA	1-14	Foggy	MILAN	8-16	Fair
ATHENS	15-29	Fair	MONTREAL	-16-3	Cloudy
BEIRUT	15-29	Fair	MOSCOW	-12-2	Fair
BELGRADE	6-13	Rain	MUNICH	4-20	Rain
BERLIN	2-16	Rain	NEW YORK	-5-23	Fair
BRUSSELS	7-15	Overcast	NICE	18-29	Fair
BUCHAREST	2-16	Foggy	OSLO	1-17	Foggy
BUDAPEST	2-16	Foggy	PARIS	4-25	Rain
CASABLANCA	16-27	Cloudy	PRAQUE	14-25	Showers
COPENHAGEN	-1-20	Rain	ROME	14-25	Fair
COSTA DEL SOL	17-23	Fair	SOFIA	2-26	Foggy
DUBLIN	5-11	Rain	STOCKHOLM	-4-19	Foggy
EDINBURGH	1-14	Snow	TEHRAN	3-37	Fair
FLORENCE	12-24	Fair	TEL AVIV	16-27	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	4-13	Rain	TOKYO	6-13	Cloudy
GENEVA	6-13	Showers	TURIN	16-27	Overcast
HAARLEM	-1-20	Snow	VIENNA	7-15	Overcast
HOUSTON	7-15	Cloudy	WARSAW	3-23	Rain
ISTANBUL	7-15	Foggy	WASHINGTON	-2-28	Fair
LAS PALMAS	19-26	Cloudy	ZURICH	5-11	Rain
LISBON	14-27	Foggy			
LOS ANGELES	21-28	Cloudy			

Yesterdays readings U.S. and Canada of 1700 GMT; Houston and Los Angeles at 2000 GMT; all others of 1200 GMT.

Situation Forecast for Noon G.M.T. Monday



## Punxsutawney Phil Prognosticates Six More Weeks of Winter in U.S.

PUNXSUTAWNEY, Pa., Feb. 3 (UPI) — Punxsutawney Phil, Pennsylvania's famous groundhog, saw his shadow yesterday and thus predicted six more weeks of winter.

The creature was prodded from his sanctum at 7:29 a.m. and after a moment of sleepy-eyed confusion conferred with members of the Punxsutawney Groundhog Club at his home on Gobbler's Knob. About 1,500 persons attended the annual affair.

But in Marion, Ohio, a challenger to Phil's throne — Buckeye Chuck — slept in as a freezing, overcast dawn arrived, which signalled that spring is just around the corner.

Phil's forecast, however, is a tradition dating back 93 years. Yet, there are some nonbelievers who claim that Phil is a stuffed gimmick dreamed up to publicize this town of 9,000 in the foothills of the Allegheny Mountains.

Charles Erhard Jr., president of the Punxsutawney Groundhog Club, dismisses the allegation. "Phil is real," he said. "He is a weather prophet. And he is never wrong."

PEANUTS



B. C.



BLONDIE



BEETLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



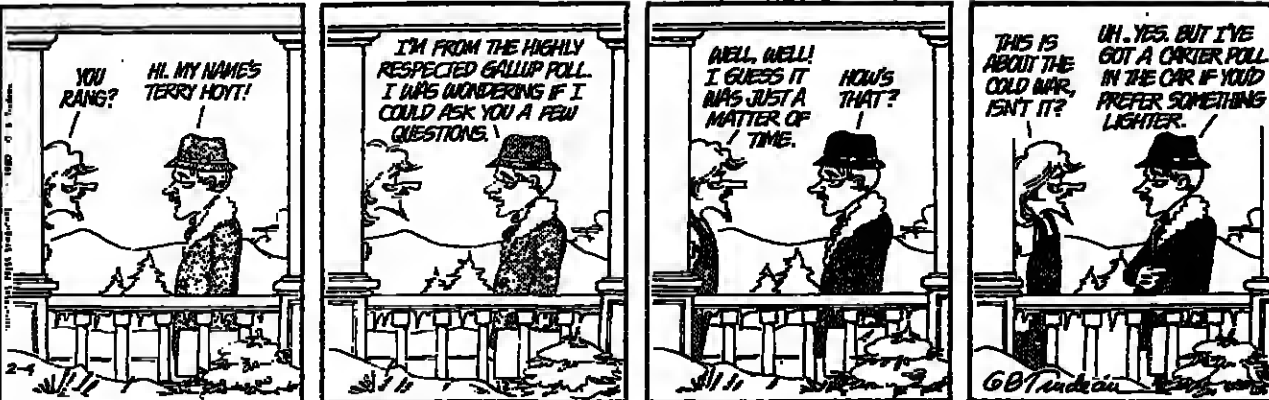
WIZARD OF ID



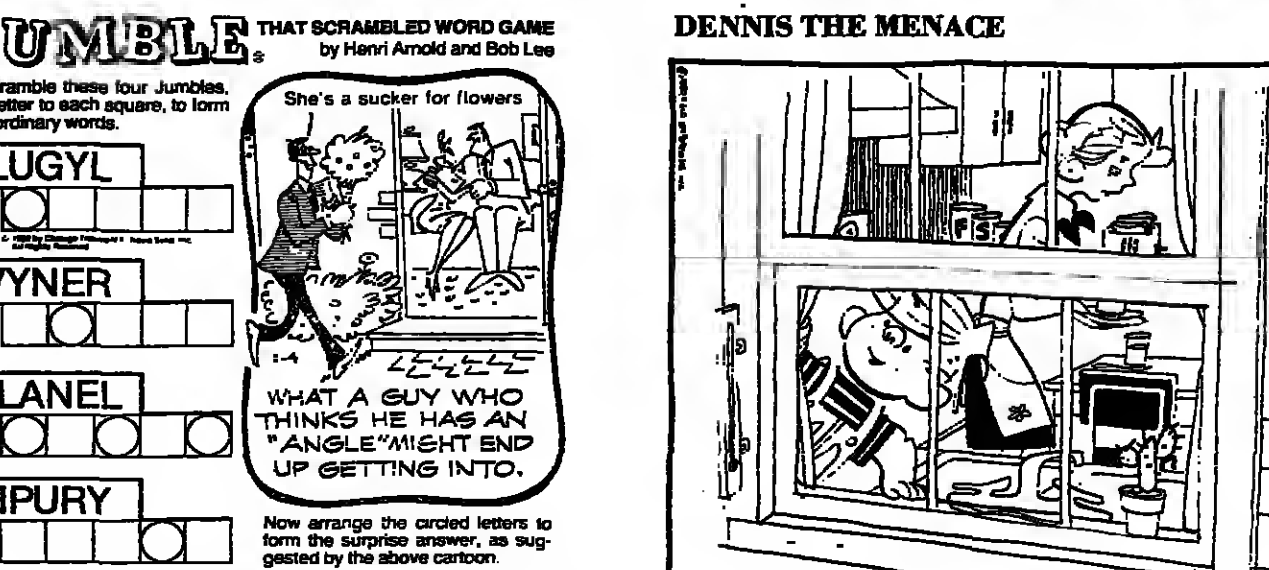
REX MORGAN



DOONESBURY



JUMBLE



Print answer here: A

Saturday's

Jumble: FOAMY SQUAB ALIGHT EIGHTY

Answer: What the Eskimo's wife said when he made excuses for coming home late one night — THAT'S A LOT OF MUSH!

"Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office"  
"Printed in Great Britain"

## BOOKS

JEAN PIAGET

By Margaret A. Boden. Viking, 176 pp. \$11.95.

Reviewed by John Leonard

FOR more than 10 years, Frank Kermode has been editing and the Viking Press has been publishing the "Modern Masters" series, a string of long essays or short books devoted to people "who have changed and are changing the life and thought of our age." The various "masters" are not always revered — Irving Howe was hard on Leon Trotsky; Jonathan Miller de-mythified Marshall McLuhan; Alasdair MacIntyre told us that "almost all of Herbert Marcuse's key positions are false"; Raymond Williams missed the point of George Orwell — but they are usually fun to read about.

Jean Piaget, the 83-year-old father figure of cognitive psychology, is not much fun to read about. At least he is more fun to read about than he is to read. Margaret Boden, reader in philosophy and psychology at the University of Sussex, has doubts about Piaget's prose style, his theory, his methodology and his math, but she ends up arguing that he asked the right questions and that what he observed of children getting to know space, time, cause and objectivity is an indispensable starting point for thinking about how the mind constructs the world.

## "Progressive Coordination"

According to Piaget, intellectual development proceeds by a universal and invariable sequence of mental stages. During the "sensorimotor" period, from birth to 18 months, the infant decides that the world is stable and divided into objects that retain their identity through space and time. During the "concrete operations" period, from 2 to 11 years old, the child organizes objects according to number, class and quantity, and comes to understand the principles of classification. During the "formal operations" period, from 12 until maturity, the adolescent learns systematically to coordinate his or her own principles of classification. Beginning then, with reflex and stimuli, mind arrives at logic and mathematics by a "progressive coordination" of the organized intellectual system we are born with and the external world we live in.

Is this clear? It is not empiricism, which says that intelligence develops as a "resonance" to the external world, and it is not "nativism," which says that intelligence is the unfolding of a predetermined system. It is not "behaviorism," because it is interested in "mental" operations, as well as observed activity. And it is not Noam Chomsky, because it does not believe in an "innate grammar"; language, on the contrary, is a tool guided by the "reciprocal and self-regulating processes of adjustment to and modification of the environment."

Even if it isn't clear, is it true? I don't know. Obviously, we have trouble thinking about thinking in words that make sense. What I call "spontaneous learning" is what Piaget and Boden call "equilibrium."

John Leonard is on the staff of The New York Times.

## CHESS

By Robert Byrne

IT is no wonder that a novel in a plantation usually enjoys success. By vigorously attacking the known strategy, a player can often fluster his opponent and either intimidate him or throw off his judgment.

But not always. In the game between Grandmasters Michael Stean of Britain and Bojan Kurajica of Yugoslavia, White kept his footing and fought back against the odds to win.

The idea involved in Kurajica's 4... P-QN4! was to pressure White into the exchange 5 PxQP, BxP, which would eliminate the tension in the center, reduce the effectiveness of the fianchettoed White KB and gain terrain for the unencumbered development of Black's queenside pieces. This plan had been used previously, but only later in the game, when White was further along in his mobilization and could counter it without trouble.

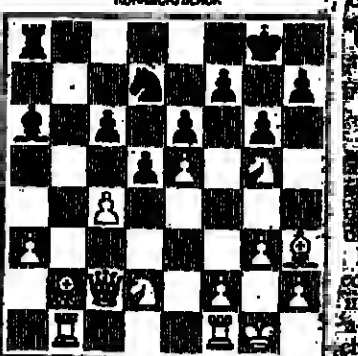
Stean's attempt to set up a pawn phalanx on the queen's wing with 11 P-QN4 was shattered at once by 11... P-QB4!; 12 PxRP (or 12 P-B5, Q-QB2, Black had soon had a strong center with 13... P-K4, QxP).

After 15... 0-0, Kurajica's prospects on the queenside looked bright. He threatened 16... KR-N1, which would finally have activated the possibility of... BxRP. However, Stean rose to the occasion by launching an attack on the opposite flank with 16 P-K3, N-N5; 17 B-R3, N-R3; 18 N-N5, P-N3; 19 NxKP!

After 19... PxN; 20 BxPch, R-B2; 21 N-N3, the pin with 21... Q-R5? would have led to the disaster 22 BxRch, KxR, 23 P-K6ch, KxP; 24 N-Q4ch, winning the queen. Moreover, after 21... Q-N3; 22 NxR, Kurajica could not recapture with 22... NxN? because 23 B-Q4, Q-R4; 24 BxRch, NxR; 25 PxP, BxR; 26 RxB, N-R5; 27 QxP would have yielded White four pawns for a piece without stopping the attack.

Kurajica could not stop to pick up the exchange with 26... BxR, since 27 QxN, B-Q5; 28 QxRch, K-K1; 29 PxP, QxP (29... BxR?; 30 PxNch, Q-Q1; 31 B-B6ch, K-B2; 32 P-Q8/Qch); 30 Q-R8ch, N-B1; 31 R-K1ch, K-Q2; 32 Q-N7ch would have won a piece for White.

On 29... R-Q1, Stean had to avoid the trap 30 QxN2, R-Q8ch;



Position after 16... P-N3

Position after 16... P-N3

Position after 16... P-N3

Position after 16... P-N3

Position after 16... P-N3

Position after 16... P-N3

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Position after 16... P-N3



## All-Stars in Overtime

# NBA East Beats West, 144-136

DOVER, Md., Feb. 3 (AP) — George Gervin scored 34 points and Larry Bird hit a three-point shot to lead the East to a 144-136 victory over the West today in the annual National Basketball Association All-Star Game.

East blew a 17-point fourth-quarter lead, but came on to win Bird's shot from the left side tied a 136-136 deadlock with left in the five-minute over-

die Johnson of Atlanta fol-

lowed with a layup for the East, then Bird, Boston's star, tipped a loose ball to in for a layup with 49 seconds left to produce the final margin.

Only was the second time the All-Star Game has gone into overtime.

The other was the fourth game in series, Jan. 21, 1974, when East beat the West 98-93 in New York.

Gervin, the 6-foot-7 guard of the Antonio Spurs who leads the

league with a 33.6 average and is gunning for his third straight scoring title, had 13 points in the third period, when the East surged from a halftime tie to a 108-91 lead with a 44-point period.

But the West came back, using a lineup that had centers Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Jack Sikma on the floor at the same time. The West reeled off 11 straight points early in the fourth quarter and finally drew even 120-120 on a driving basket by Paul Westphal with 3:14 to play.

Westphal, of the Phoenix Suns, had three more baskets in the final 2:25, the last one tying the score at 128-128 with 17 seconds to play. Bird missed a jumper in the closing seconds and Julius Erving of Philadelphia failed on a tip-in for the East at the buzzer.

The teams traded baskets for the first three minutes of the overtime before Bird finally broke the pattern with the only three-point play of the wild, high-scoring affair.

Gervin was selected as the game's most valuable player in balloting by sports writers and broadcasters.

Johnson had 20 points and 12 rebounds for the East, which now leads the All-Star series, 19-11. Eddie Johnson added 22 points and Atlanta teammate Dan Roundfield contributed 18 points and 13 rebounds.

Bird, who was college basketball's Player of the Year at Indiana State last winter, had just seven points but got five of them in overtime.

Forward Adrian Dantley of the Utah Jazz led the West with 23 points and Westphal scored 21, 10 of them in the fourth-quarter surge.

It was a typical all-star game, the players showing off their fanciest moves, slickest passes, and most emphatic dunks before a sellout crowd of 19,035 at the Capital Centre and a national television audience. It started off at a frantic pace, with Gervin and Abdul-Jabbar putting on a show in the early going.

## Transactions

**BASKETBALL**  
National Basketball League  
INDIANA—Traded Alvin Robertson, forward, and a first-round 1980 draft choice to the Denver Nuggets for George Armstrong, forward.

**FOOTBALL**  
National Football League  
DENVER—Traded second-round draft choice to the New York Jets for Matt Robinson, quarterback.

**EIGHT CONFERENCE**—Charles Nelson, executive director of the College Football Association, has been named to become the first executive director of the College Football Association.

**GEORGIA TECH**—Hired Romeo Crennel as assistant football coach.

**ILLINOIS**—Hired Mike Meyer, assistant football coach.

**STANFORD**—Hired Paul Wulfsberg as football coach, and signed him to a five-year contract.



English lock Billy Beaumont picks up ground despite French hooker Philippe Dittmann's efforts. Crouching, center, is English flanker Roger Utley, who later sustained a six-stitch head gash.

## Red Smith

# Olympic Cast of Thousands

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 (NYT) — As Jimmy Durante, Lord rest him, would say: "Everybody wants to get into it." And just about everybody is getting in. By request of the State Department, Muhammad Ali flies this week in a government plane to Tanzania, Kenya, Liberia and Senegal to persuade those nations to join 36 others that oppose holding the Summer Olympics in Moscow.

This is the same Muhammad Ali who, as heavyweight champion of the world, was banished from the ring and sentenced to jail a dozen or so years ago for refusal to be conscripted into military service.

Excoriated as the champion fighter who would not fight for his country, he was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and was denied opportunity to work at his profession until the Supreme Court reversed the conviction. Now the government that once branded him a slacker is asking him to use his worldwide popularity to enlist other countries in the movement to have the Moscow games transferred to another site, postponed or cancelled.

Enter Congress

Also in the act is a congressional subcommittee on commerce and transportation, which conducted hearings on the Olympics issue last week.

One of the most interesting bits of testimony before that committee came from Col. Don Miller, executive director of the United States

Olympic Committee, who disclosed that the USOC had not yet reached a decision on the issue. The committee's executive board has voted unanimously to cooperate with the president, whose opposition to the Moscow games has been endorsed by overwhelming majorities in the House and Senate. When the International Olympic Committee meets in Lake Placid before the Winter Games this month, the USOC will propose that the Moscow games be moved, postponed or cancelled.

But, Miller said, the executive board was still reserving a decision on which way to jump in the event that the IOC rejected the proposal. Some of the congressmen who heard him seemed startled.

After testifying, Miller conceded privately: "We would never defy an order by the president." He distinguishes between an order and a request.

The subcommittee hearings brought out a fact that some members were not aware of and some had forgotten. The fact is that Jack Kemp, R-N.Y., the professional quarterback turned professional congressman, has been in this act for three years and more. More than a few football seasons have passed since Kemp last wore a defensive lineman like a lavaliere on his breastbone, but he has kept his youthful figure and his tanned hair.

He said, "I was led to believe, at least by what I read, that we had a grave crisis."

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"As you get older, you get a pretty good feeling for the ebbs and flows of life," O'Brien said, watching the sun go down from his Fifth Avenue perch. "You probably become a bit de ja vu. The more things change, the more they stay the same."

Having been present at the moment of two assassinations gives you a different perspective for the rest of your life. Much of what disturbs you and confronts you seems to fade.

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O'Brien took his feet off his desk, stubbed out a cigarette. "All the tricks of politics and salesmanship are used in professional sports," he said. "But the promises we make and the expectations we arouse are all brought to instant judgment."

"That's why this job is more difficult than some of my old friends might think."

He looked out his other window and stared eye-to-eye at St. Patrick's Cathedral, just across the street. "That's just there," he said with a grin, "in case I need to pray."

## Longshot Leads Crosby — With Nicklaus 3 Off Pace

PEBBLE BEACH, Calif., Feb. 3 (AP) — David Edwards, a non-winning longshot, had the lead but was looking with over his shoulder at the intimidating figure of Jack Nicklaus going into today's final round of the \$300,000 Bing Crosby National Pro-Am golf tournament.

Edwards, a 24-year-old former national collegiate champion now in his second year on the PGA tour, scrambled and struggled to a par 72 over the Pebble Beach course, and a 54-hole total of 208 — eight shots under par after one trip over each of three Monterey Peninsula courses. He is seeking his first four victories.

But the comeback-minded Nicklaus — trying to rebound from his worst year ever in 1979 — gave a sparkling exhibition of old-time form that produced a 6-under-par 66 at Pebble and put him within three strokes of the lead at 211.

Said Edwards of Nicklaus' performance: "Hmmm... That's a great round. I just hope he doesn't do it again."

"I played Pebble Beach. It's a place I love," said Nicklaus. "I felt that if I had a round in the 60s today, another good round tomorrow could win." And, despite a horrendous 76 in Friday's second round, only three men — Edwards, Larry Nelson and Gil Morgan — lead him going into today's final round.

Nelson and Morgan were tied at 210. Nelson, a two-time winner last year, shot a 70 at Spyglass Hill and

In a statement to the subcommittee, Kemp reviewed the history of his opposition to holding the Olympics in Moscow.

"On April 2, 1977," he said, "I expressed my deep concern that the Soviets appeared to be planning the 1980 Summer Olympics on the 1936 Berlin model. In a speech in the House, I said that if the 1980 Games were turned into a Communist propaganda spectacle, it would probably mean the end of the Olympic Games."

Reminder

Kemp reminded the subcommittee that in 1976 the Asian Games Federation voted not to invite Israel, that in the same year the Soviet Union, Hungary and Yugoslavia walked out of the World Chess Championships in Israel, that the Russian and Czechoslovakian team refused to go to Israel to play Macabli Tel Aviv in the European Basketball Champions Cup and that Israel was excluded from the World University Games in Bulgaria.

After the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky and Alexander Ginzburg, Kemp said, "Senator Wendell Anderson, who had been an Olympics Hockey Team member in 1956, and I, co-sponsored a concurrent resolution calling upon the Congress to express its view that the 1980 Olympic Games should be moved from Moscow to another site outside the Soviet Union."

It has taken awhile for the team to get the quarterback's signal.

# England Triumphs, 17-13, Over France in Five Nations

By Bob Donahue

PARIS, Feb. 3 (HT) — England has confirmed its rugby revival by winning in Paris for the first time in 16 years. Having throttled Ireland two weeks ago, the English yesterday triumphed more emphatically than the 17-13 score and put France in its place as a second-class power in the Five Nations championship.

The French were reminded that you can't play attacking football behind second-rate forwards. Power, teamwork and the full range of technique were mostly English at the Parc des Princes. "Our rolling off, driving, rolling off, driving again may not be the prettiest rugby in the world, but it's effective," captain Billy Beaumont summed up on his way to the banquet.

French Game

New Zealand's All Blacks let the French play the French game in Auckland last July. The result was the first French test victory in New Zealand, and a match widely regarded as one of the most spectacular in the history of rugby. On Jan. 19 in Cardiff, Wales concentrated on dominating the scrums and lineouts, and France lost 18-9. England took the art of stuffing out French flair a step further yesterday.

Yet it was a tantalizing burst of vintage French champagne when Welsh referee Clive Norling popped the cork before a full house of 49,000, on a field that was almost dry despite a blustery, rain-specked southwest wind that had blown all morning but let up for the match.

Rucking furiously, France won the ball back after kicking off, and then won the game's first lineout and was soon attacking down the left — scrumhalf Jerome Gallion to flyhalf Alain Causade to center Didier Cordon and back to Gallion, who wrestled the ball free from flyhalf John Horton's tackle and led flanker Jean-Pierre Rives inside him. The captain scurried over with the ball locked in both arms. The game was only two minutes old and there was no way of knowing that the home fans would have another chance to roar until near the end.

Causade's attempted conversion bounced back off the left post. Later in the first quarter, English fullback Dusty Hare and Causade exchanged penalties: France 7, England 3. Other things of importance were happening, and they were bad news for France.

The second and third lineouts had also been French, but both were lost. The pattern was set of bad French throwing-in, strong and well-protected jumping by Beaumont in the middle, smarter maneuvering by No. 8 John Scott and flanker Tony Newby at the back, wild French taps, and English craft in the lineout rucks and mauls. Mannel Carpenter, the 20-year-old

French No. 8, ended the afternoon in tears.

And then the scrums. With the ball in and controlled, Beaumont's pack drove and locked at will, channeling the ball at will, served scrumhalf Steve Smith or Scott at will. Again and again. "It was perfection," French coach Jean Desclaux said of England's scrummaging.

Behind such security and with so much possession, the English backs were in luxury. The midfield triangle of flyhalf John Horton and centers Nick Preston and Clive Woodward rose to the occasion, adding a dimension that had been missing from England's game for years. As the quarter ended, they were actually moving the ball, although always on runs slanted back inside to link up with their imperious forwards.

So France was driven into the ground and England piled up four scores in succession, all of them icing on the cake of forward supremacy that owed little or nothing to nastiness. French prop Robert Paparborde was hurt from the start. Later a tough judge inaugurated the new practice of alerting the referee, with a resultant penalty against English lock Maurice Colclough. But French flanker Jean-Luc Joiret got a lecture from Norling for rough lineout work, and the only man to leave the game (briefly) was an Englishman, flanker Roger Utley, who needed six stitches for a gash in the head.

The half-hour was not up, French fans were already silent and "England, England" resounded back and forth between the ends of the oval even before Preston, looking right and left in disbelief, was struggling off would-be tackler, right wing Daniel Bustaffa and Gallion, scored on the left on a pass from Woodward.

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Final Fireworks

The French had five minutes, counting injury time, but it was not enough for the try that would have tied the game or the converted try that could have won it. The final fireworks came close to cheating the English of a victory they deserved but had failed to lock up safely for lack of confidence. Beaumont, who came off with his right arm around Rives' shoulders and his left raised in the thumb-up victory sign, knows he has work left to do before he faces Wales at Twickenham in two weeks.

But one match at a time. This one was England's first victory in Paris since 1964, and France's first championship loss at home since Wales won here in 1975. You wouldn't think it has been 23 years since England last won a grand slam of four victories in the championship.

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# The NBA's O'Brien: A Seasoned Man for All Reasons

By Thomas Boswell

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 (WP) — Larry O'Brien carries with him a sense of old-shoe intimacy, as if he were a one-man back-poker game. If the 62-year-old commissioner of the NBA could get a sports fan in America alone in a smoke-filled room, pro basketball is the national pastime.

His Irish rogue — part grandfart arm-twister — demonstrates that infinite good cheer and finite capacity for the drabest is can coexist and prosper.

More important, after a lifetime kingmaker in politics and in sports, O'Brien has proved a man can emerge from a world of fighting and high finance without either cynicism nor soul.

he NBA has a central figure, it is 7-foot-2 Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. 6-10 Moses Malone. It is the 'Brien, who ducks the spotlight holding everything to himself. Sitting in his 15th floor office, O'Brien propped his feet up on a desk, drew on his millionth cigarette and day and reflected.

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snowy nights of driving to see Bob Cousy in the Boston Garden when the Celtics were the team. But I was always a typical fan.

"Even when I was Democratic national chairman and took political friends to Madison Square Garden for a doubleheader, I always warned them: 'If you don't want to stay for both games, don't come with me, because I'm staying until the end.'"

In his days as a Knick fan, he had seats "right across the aisle from Walter Kennedy, who was NBA commissioner then. Walter always looked straight ahead — stony-faced. It bothered me a little that he looked so uninvolved."

Hot Seat

"Now, I sit in the same seat he did," O'Brien said. "And I sit there stony-faced, looking straight ahead. I find myself watching the refs or wondering what awful thing can happen that will show up on my desk the next morning."

O'Brien has brought the same tactics to running the NBA that distinguished the campaigns he directed for John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

"I've thought back on the decision to become NBA commissioner far more than I thought about it at the time," O'Brien said. "After I closed out my life in politics, I assumed it would be difficult to find the next thing. I came to the NBA on a trial basis — the new kid on the block. But, I discovered that the same techniques applied here, too."

"I've been in many a smoke-filled room until 3 a.m. in merger negotiations. And I've even gotten up and locked the door."

"I work on the assumption that nothing is simple. However, when you arrive at the point where all negotiations arrive — at an agreement on a concept, but a disagreement on terms — then someone has to cut through the underbrush and get to the bottom line."

"You close the door, pull up your socks and don't leave until you've made a decision."

O'Brien has pulled up his socks, and the NBA's time and again. First, he got the warring leagues — NBA and ABA — to merge. New stars, like Julius Erving and Moses Malone, liked the NBA's attendance.

Then he reached a 10-year-out-of-court settlement in the Oscar Robertson case that established a compensation rule for NBA free agents.

His persona as the great compromiser and the man who gets things done have saved more than one NBA team from its creditors. "There hasn't been a year when a franchise wasn't in danger," said O'Brien. "The worst was the

New Jersey Nets. We went an entire summer unsure as to whether they would make it. We even had two schedules made for the next season, one with them and one without."

Now, thanks in part to a multi-year, \$74-million television contract that O'Brien wheedled from CBS, he can say, "I don't have a financially-troubled franchise on my desk for the first time in my tenure."

Perhaps O'Brien has been firmest — a dictator rather than an orchestrator — in the matter of violence. Although he does not speak for the record, he nodded agreement when it was pointed out that every other major pro sport has a willful of blood about it: Baseball with its crowd riots, the NFL with Jack Tatum's book "They Call Me Assassin" and the NHL with its recurrent punch-outs.

"We will not tolerate violence in any form," O'Brien said, uncharacteristically thumping his desk with his forefinger. "When violence and intimidation become central to a sport, it erodes your desire to be part of it."

Against the record of his early NBA successes, no man was more shocked than O'Brien a year ago when the NBA was widely perceived as a league with serious problems in attendance and TV ratings. O'Brien could solve many a problem, but he could not get into millions of homes and persuade folks that the NBA was the game they wanted to see.

The difficulties concerned the quality of the NBA game itself. Was the schedule too long? Were players too highly paid and too lackadaisical until the playoffs? Was a predominantly white audience uninterested in predominantly black players? Did too many teams make the playoffs?

League administrators dared say O'Brien had no lifelong basketball people in his inner circle guide him toward the proper hand-check rule or the right way to combat the creeping disease of zone defense.

Noivrosity

"I have no overall vision of how the game should be played," O'Brien said. "I am not consciously directing it. We focus on the problems of the moment and do what seems to make sense."

On the question of NBA popularity, O'Brien is as adept an interpreter of data as any political poll watcher. "I was shocked to learn at

the end of last season that attendance in our league had fallen by only seven fans per game — less than one-tenth of 1 percent," O'Brien said. "I was led to believe, at least by what I read, that we had a grave crisis."

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